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PROTECTIVE MEASURES AGAINST CHEMICAL, TOXIC WEAPONS RECOMMENDED

Scientists Discuss Chemical Weapons

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1982 pp 4-7

[Discussion by Professor Doctor Aleksandur Monov and Petko Bocharov]

[Text] Despite the struggle waged by the peoples against the arms race and imperialist preparations for waging chemical warfare, the danger that chemical weapons may be used in our time is entirely realistic. That is why, along with the struggle against the dangerous intentions and plans formulated by the Pentagon to produce and use chemical weapons, we must engage in systematic preparations to protect the population and the national economy from such weapons. That is precisely why we invited Prof Dr Aleksandur Monov, chief toxicologist of the Bulgarian People's Republic and chief of the section on clinical toxicology at the N. I. Pirogov Republic Scientific Practical Institute for urgent medical aid, and Petko Bocharov, a Bulgarian television commentator on international problems, to express their views on contemporary chemical weapons, their striking effect on the human body and the protection from such weapons.

Petko Bocharov: Incredible though it might appear, at the end of the 20th century, in the century of the scientific and technical revolution and exceptional achievements in all fields of life, and almost 4 decades after the end of World War II, the specter of ever new and more destructive mass destruction weapons, including chemical weapons, continues to roam. Unfortunately, by the fault of the United States there still is no international treaty which would firmly and categorically ban the use of toxic combat substances. This circumstance is used by the United States which is intensively engaged in the production and stockpiling of such weapons in various types and forms. This is no accident. It is part of the general line of the Reagan administration, which is nurturing the illusion that the arms race will give it strategic superiority over the socialist comity. Today as on many other occasions, when it is a question of toxic combat substances, Washington tries to hide behind the trite myth of the "Soviet threat." This justification is as naive as it is groundless.

No one other than the United States has used chemical weapons as it did in its subversive actions against the Afghan revolution and in the war waged on the Vietnamese people. In December 1961, by order of the then U.S. president, 18 heavy duty C-123 airplanes, officially adapted for the purpose, dropped on Vietnam 90 tons of herbicides and defoliants. Then and in many other attacks on Vietnam, a total of more than 100,000 tons of chemicals were dropped, as a result of which more than 2 million Vietnamese were killed; 23,000 square kilometers of forests and 3,000 square kilometers of farm crops were destroyed.

According to Western military theoreticians and aggressive circles, the neutron weapon is considered "humane." They are now trying to ascribe the same quality to chemical weapons.

Prof Aleksandur Monov: Yes, some modern war theoreticians in the capitalist countries are indeed trying to "prove" that the neutron bomb, as well as some chemical compounds "spare" the people against whom they are aimed. This is a groundless concept. There are two reasons for which such chemical substances cannot be described as humane. First, in an aggressive war they will be used by the armed forces simultaneously for destroying the people, damaging their health and developing permanent disabilities in a tremendous number of people. How could we describe as "humane" a weapon which causes human suffering and death? The second argument, according to which chemical compounds cause merely "temporary damage" is equally groundless, for if applied in higher doses, such compounds cause severe damages to the human organism.

P. Bocharov: I may not be a specialist, but I know that chemical weapons include toxic combat substances, diversion poisons, inflammatory substances, smoke-generating substances and vegetal toxins (phytotoxins). Daily information coming from world news agencies proves that the U.S. militarists pay particular attention to toxic combat substances. This naturally makes the people interested in the way contemporary toxicology looks at the basic groups and types of toxic combat substances.

Prof Al. Monov: Modern toxicology distinguishes among several basic groups of toxic combat substances. The first includes lethal combat toxins such as nerve-paralytic gases such as sarin, soman, V-gases and others. The second group are the nervo-mental (psychogenic) toxic combat substances, the so-called "incapacitants," which are not lethal but which, under some conditions, could also cause severe damages. They include psychotoxic substances such as LSD-25, BZ, a physical incapacitant containing LS, and others.

Additionally, the following groups of toxic gases exist as well: general toxic, strangulating, skin abrasive, irritants and lacrimators. To one extent or another, all of them affect various human organs and, in heavy concentrations, may have severe consequences. Their utilization is also planned by the enemy in various tactical variants.

Furthermore, the American imperialists intend to use special purpose chemicals such as herbicides, defoliants, biological poisons, and others. They were already used on a large scale in the war against the Vietnamese people.

P. Bocharov: I will ask you to comment on herbicides and defoliants later. Could you describe for us the nature of toxic substances with nerve-paralytical effect? What are the characteristics of their effect on the body?

Prof Al. Monov: These are chemical compounds which, according to some foreign press information, are the basic chemical weapon of the armies of the imperialist countries. They are phosphororganic compounds. They consist mainly of soman, sarin and VX-gases. They penetrate into the body of the victim through the skin, the mucous membranes and the respiratory system, they suppress the functions of vitally important enzyme systems such as cholinesterase, which is quickly followed by severe damages to the body. In their light forms of manifestation, they cause headaches, lassitude, vomiting, and a feeling of tightness in the chest. In severe forms, the victim becomes unconscious, vitally important centers such as respiration and the blood circulation system are paralyzed, the patient goes into convulsions and, naturally, unless there is prompt medical intervention, death follows.

Let us point out that currently the laboratories of the interested imperialist countries are working hard to increase the damaging effect of such chemicals.

P. Bocharov: What are the psychotoxic substances?

Prof Al. Monov: These are a relatively new group of toxic substances which were introduced in the armaments of the United States and other imperialist countries during the past 15-20 years. According to the foreign press, they include BZ gases used by the U. S. army in the war against Vietnam, and LSD-25. Entering the body of the victim, such toxic substances suppress the functions of a number of enzyme systems which act as mediators in the central nervous system and the brain, resulting in exceptionally severe acute psychosis. Within a short time the victims are stricken by depersonalization. They have no idea of the real circumstances. Their actions are disturbed and their mental functions are strongly deranged. This converts them into human beings whose actions have been significantly distorted.

P. Bocharov: Is the contamination dose significant?

Prof Al. Monov: In smaller doses of LSD-25 contamination, the effect lasts between 8 and 12 hours on an average. In the case of BZ, which is a more advanced member of this group of toxic chemical compounds, the effect lasts about 200 hours. In higher doses, in addition to acute psychosis, the victims may suffer from heavy somatic damages such as lassitude, helplessness, and inability to work, which are also antihumane elements of action of such substances.

P. Bocharov: Could you tell us something more about herbicides and defoliants which were used in Vietnam?

Prof Al. Monov: This is an interesting question, for defoliants and herbicides are a valuable achievement of peacetime chemistry, with the help of which contemporary agrotechnology counters important harm done to farm crops, mainly weeds. They are used also to defoliate some forest areas undesirable in a given area, and so on. In Vietnam the U. S. armies used these preparations in substantial doses. It was established that their harmful influence as toxic combat substances is strong in two directions--against man and against the environment. The toxic effect on people affected by such substances is manifested first of all by a strong malaise, heart palpitations, and fatigue and, subsequently, disturbances in metabolic processes, a gradual feeling of weakness, which leads to severe cachexia, which lasts several months, and a peculiar damage to the eyes, to the visual analyzer, as a result of which, after several months, the victims' vision is damaged and a severe disturbance in the functions of this important human organ occurs.

What is interesting, however, and which is currently being scientifically clarified, is the fact that such chemicals, Agent Orange in particular, contain dioxin, which is a very toxic product. It has an exceptionally damaging genetic effect. Such chemicals adversely affect embryos carried by pregnant women and the children are born with various deformities.

P. Bocharov: Professor Monov, are there measures to apply against such toxic substances and what are they?

Prof Al. Monov: This is part of a very important topical complex problem: how to counteract and, in general, how to struggle against such sinister achievements of modern chemistry and toxicology. In my view, this struggle should be waged in three directions and expressed in three types of activity: the first is to mobilize to a maximum the possibilities of the human mind, far-sightedness and feeling of responsibility on the part of government leaders so that through international meetings and agreements the outbreak of a nuclear missile and chemical warfare may be prevented. Particularly noteworthy in this respect are the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist comity.

The second direction is provided by the extensive opportunities offered by medical science or, respectively, toxicology, in treating the damages caused to the human body from such toxins. Our country and science have scored considerable achievements in this respect. We are continuing to develop and improve these achievements, for concern for the people is the main law governing the development of the socialist society.

The third but not least direction is the organizational measures taken by our country's Civil Defense to develop a readiness for the protection of the population and for engaging in organized rescue operations to eliminate the consequences of the influence of chemical weapons.

The population is protected by building shelters of different categories, supplying the people with gas masks and individual chemical kits, and others. However, it is very important to train the people to make proper use of such facilities and to become confident that if they take protective measures properly they could be protected from the harmful consequences of poison gases.

Under contemporary conditions rescue operations which, as required by the Civil Defense, should take place in the center of a chemical contamination, assume prime significance. The solution of this major problem is in the hands of the local Civil Defense managements and radiation and chemical protection services, which set up and train formations, particularly investigating and decontaminating units. An important prerequisite for successful rescue operations is properly to supply with antichemical equipment such formations and to give the personnel the skill and habit to use the equipment, the antichemical clothing and the other individual protective means.

P. Bocharov: In recent years the Pentagon has invested billions of dollars in the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, tremendous amounts of which were already in possession by the United States. The chemical arsenals of that country produce artillery and aviation shells and bombs with toxic gases. Of late, particular attention has been paid to the production of binary ammunition. This is a system used by the United States to circumvent some existing restrictions and to calm down public opinion. The binary weapon consists of two relatively harmless components which are stored separately in peacetime. Therefore, they can be safely transported to Europe. Combined within the ammunition, under certain circumstances the binary substances combine during the flight, turning into sarin or other highly toxic nerve-paralytical toxins.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are systematically fighting the mad rearming of NATO countries. It was precisely on the initiative of the USSR that, finally, a convention banning the development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons and their destruction was concluded in 1972. One of the texts of the convention stipulates that the signatories assume the obligation to reach "within the shortest possible time a similar accord pertaining to chemical weapons." Soviet-American talks on this problem began in 1976. There have been no positive results so far because of U. S. policy. Furthermore, it was precisely during that period that the United States developed new and far more advanced toxic substances. The United States was the only one of the 157 United Nations members not to vote in favor of a resolution banning the production and use of chemical weapons.

True to their peace-loving policy, but without weakening their vigilance and readiness to defend themselves, the socialist countries are continuing to devote maximal efforts to save mankind from the horrors of a thermonuclear, chemical and biological war and to secure lasting peace on our planet.

Chemical Reconnaissance Instrument

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1982 pp 8-11

[Article by Col Kuncho Mariyanski]

[Text] The program for training reconnaissance formations within the Civil Defense system calls for the study of the "Army Chemical Reconnaissance Instrument (VPKhR)" in two study periods. During the first (1 hour) it is

recommended for the trainees to study the purpose, technical data, structure and principles of operation of the instrument and preparations for and rules governing its utilization. This training is given in the classroom or the training field where chemical weapons and means for protection against them are studied. With a view to acquiring the skill and firm habits in the use of the instrument, the second class (2 hours) must mandatorily consist of practical training.

The instructor (formation commander) drafts a plan for each individual class, indicating the topic, the target and the time for work on the various problems. The plan must mandatorily include the necessary material support and a description of the work method. Before the class the instructor names as his assistants one or two of the best trained privates, instructs them and assigns them specific tasks related to material support, preparing the equipment and taking the necessary safety measures following the detection of toxic gases.

During the first class it is recommended for the instructor to use the training poster which depicts the instrument as well as the instrument itself. He displays the instrument and describes to the trainees its purpose, tactical and technical data and structure. At this point he must emphasize that the instrument enables us to determine the existence of sarin, soman and mustard gas in the air, on the area or on the equipment, or else the presence of fumes released by V-gases, phosgen or chlorcyanide in the air. In the course of the training, it is very important for the instructor to describe properly the structure of the instrument and the purpose of each one of its individual parts. He must explain particularly clearly the structure of the manual pump (Figure 1), the warmer and its cartridges, the cassettes containing the indication pipes (Figure 2) and their purpose.

Available experience has indicated that class instructors pay insufficient attention in explaining how to use the instruction on work with the equipment and on identifying soman-type toxic substances. In describing the warmer we must emphasize that its purpose is to warm up the indication pipes for identifying toxic substances at low outside temperatures (from -40 to $+15^{\circ}\text{C}$) and that it is used to warm up the pipes used to identify mustard gas at a temperature of $+15^{\circ}\text{C}$ or lower; to warm up the pipes for identifying soman-type gas at temperatures of 0°C or lower; and for thawing the content of the ampules in the indication pipes.

The set includes 15 cartridges for the warmer, located in a metal cassette. Depending on the outside temperature, when the warmer is heated up, the temperature in the outside pipes of the core reaches $60-70^{\circ}\text{C}$ in 1-2 minutes. The temperature in the warmer drops to 30°C in 7-8 minutes and to $15-20^{\circ}\text{C}$ in 10-15 minutes.

After testing two or three privates on how well they have mastered the structure of the instrument, the instructor indicates the procedure for identifying toxic gases in the air, drawing the attention to the sequence in the utilization of the indication pipes. He then gives the sequence for defining toxic gases in the area and on the clothing, the equipment and other objects (items).

The first training on this topic ends with a specific explanation of the conditions and procedure for meeting the stipulations of Norm No 7.

The main purpose of the second exercise is to enable the troops to become very familiar with the preparations for and utilization of the VPKhR (Army Equipment Reconnaissance Instrument) in the detection of toxic gases. This training is mandatorily held on the training grounds (area). The trainees must be equipped with gas masks, protective clothing or protective gloves and stockings. They must have a firm knowledge of safety measures in handling toxic substances. Quite frequently the use of simulation (training) toxic gases is underestimated in practical training, which adversely affects the training of the personnel.

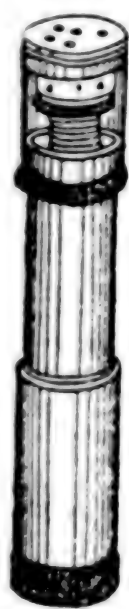


Fig. 1

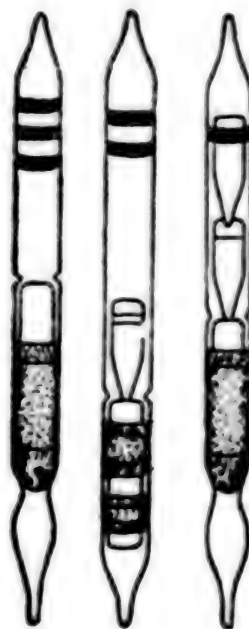


Fig. 2

Before the class, the instructor checks the availability and condition of the gas masks, the skin protection facilities and the chemical reconnaissance instrument (or instruments). He then describes the purpose of the exercise and the sequence in which the items will be covered. The purpose of his questions and the answers is to help the personnel to recall the basic physical and toxic characteristics of the gases, the safety measures in handling them and the sequence to be followed in the use of the VPKhR.

In indicating the rules governing preparations for and handling the VPKhR, the instructor emphasizes the great importance of the activities of the chemical reconnaissance worker in identifying (detecting) toxic gases with a nerve-paralytical action at low concentrations and temperatures. He describes the characteristics of handling the instrument at night. The trainees

must properly understand that the main feature in this training is to provide intensive practical familiarity. This can be achieved only if the working procedure is perfectly known and if every chemical reconnaissance worker has undergone subsequent training.

In summing up the experience of the best reconnaissance formation commanders, we can recommend to the instructor to prepare the instrument for work and to see to it that there are no missing parts. Toxic gases are identified in the following sequence:

The lid of the instrument is opened, the lock is turned and the pump is taken out;

Two pipes, one with a red ring and a red dot (for soman-type toxic gases) are removed from the cassette, their ends are cut off and their content becomes exposed;

Using the blade for opening the ampules bearing the signs consistent with the signs on the indication pipes, the upper ampules of the two pipes are broken, the pipes are held at the ends with the signs and are energetically shaken two to three times;

The unmarked end of one of the pipes is introduced into the pump and five or six pumping movements are made. No air must cross the second (non-control) pipe;

The same blade is used for breaking the lower ampules of the two pipes which must be shaken several times.

The attention of the trainees is drawn to the change in the coloring of the control pipe (from red to yellow). It is necessary to emphasize that when the control pipe turns yellow, the red coloring in the upper layer of the filler of the second pipe indicates the presence of soman, sarin or V-gases; the yellow coloring indicates the absence of sarin, soman or V-gases in dangerous concentrations. A yellow coloring developed immediately after the lower ampule has been broken means that the operation must be repeated with the use of an antismoke filter.

The instructor must explain that regardless of the indications in the pipe with the red ring and red dot, the other pipes must be used as well to identify toxic gases.

Finally, the air is studied with the indication pipe marked by three green rings (for phosgen, diphosgen, chlorocyanide and Prussic acid). To this effect the pipe must be mandatorily opened, the ampule is broken, the pipe is introduced into the pump and 10 to 15 pumping movements are made. The pipe is then removed from the pump and a comparison is made between the color of the filler and the color indicated on the cassette label. This is followed by the analysis of the air with the indicator pipe marked with a single yellow ring (for mustard gas). To this effect the pipe is opened, introduced into the pump, and after 60 pumpings removed and left alone for 1 minute, after which the color of the filler is compared with the color indicated on the cassette label.

In order to study the condition of the air at lower temperatures, the pipes marked with a red ring and a black dot and the pipes marked with a yellow ring must be warmed up in the warmer.

The instructor shows how to prepare the warmer. He also indicates the sequence in identifying toxic gases in the area and on the clothing, equipment or other objects. After that, depending on the number of instruments at his disposal, he indicates the sequence in which the individual personnel will be trained. Although the training involves the use of training (simulation) toxic gases, all trainees must wear their individual protective clothing and the instructor must see to it that the protective equipment has been properly put on.

Taking into consideration the direction of the wind, the instructor assigns the individual work places and gives the order for the work to begin. The trainees detect toxic gases, observe changes in their coloring and report on the results.

At the end of the class the instructor explains that the instrument must be always ready for work and that it requires systematic servicing. Every day or on every occasion after working with the equipment, it must be cleaned and, in the case of contamination with toxic (radioactive) substances, degassed (deactivated). The blades for breaking the ampules and the head of the pump must be cleaned; the proper functioning of the pump must be tested, the warmer must be cleaned, the instrument with individual pipes must have no missing parts, and so on.

Finally, the instructor must ask some testing questions on the material and evaluate the actions of the personnel. Errors in handling the VPKhR in identifying toxic substances and the means for correcting them must be indicated specifically. In no case should the instructor fail to mention the personnel who have distinguished themselves in the course of the exercise.

Radiation and Chemical Protection Service

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1982 pp 10-11

[Article by Tsvyatko Genov]

[Text] When we speak of preparing economic projects for protection from mass striking weapons, we properly relate such activities to the role of the Radiation and Chemical Protection Service (RKhZ). It is true that all Civil Defense services perform important functions. However, the work of the RKhZ service is particularly important under contemporary conditions. It is directly focused on the implementation of a number of measures defined in the instructions, which contribute to upgrading the stability of the projects and the readiness of staffs and formations to engage in rescue and emergency breakdown repair operations in the stricken areas.

Of late the question of the work of the RKhZ service in training the people to defend themselves from chemical weapons, which the American imperialists are

intensively producing, has become particularly relevant. In a number of areas the commanders of such services and formations are actively working to implement measures related to radiation and chemical safety and training the formations to eliminate the consequences of an enemy attack or in the case of major industrial accidents.

A good example in this respect is the RKhZ service at the Plant for Semi-Cellulose and Cardboard in Sofia, headed by Engineer Khristo Georgiev. Accurately assessing contemporary requirements, the chief of service regularly reports to the project Civil Defense chief on the implementation of planned measures and insists that the necessary facilities for such purposes be procured. As a result of this, the plant has been supplied with the necessary items such as detection equipment, decontamination facilities, and individual protection kits. At the same time, proper concern is shown for their protection and maintenance. The service chief pays particular attention to the equipment and training of the reconnaissance section and the decontamination crew. Together with the commander of the reconnaissance section, before the opening of each new school year an evaluation is made on the way the section personnel deal with their obligations and the necessary reinforcements and replacements are made. As a result, the section is always properly staffed with people who can operate on a broad front, fully equipped with the necessary apparatus and individual protection means. In order to be in a constant state of readiness, the individual protective means, instruments and equipment of the personnel, which are properly stored in the warehouse, are so arranged and identified that they can be issued to the personnel without delay.

The plant's RKhZ service pays exceptional attention to the training of the formations. Engineer Petur Petrov, commander of the reconnaissance section, and Milena Petrova, commander of the decontamination crew, prepare themselves for the training extensively and at the proper time. All topics are covered with full availability of training-technical and visual means (gas masks, chemical defense clothing, individual chemical kits, syringes, X-ray-radiometers, chemical detection instruments, respirators, bandages, and others). In the study of general and specific training topics, this enables the personnel to practice, to acquire the skills needed for quick and proper action and to meet the stipulated norms. The reconnaissance section commander organizes the training in such a way that the entire personnel can use the docimeter and the chemical reconnaissance instrument. This upgrades the possibility of carrying out detection assignments under all circumstances. This year particular attention is being paid to the study of the chemical reconnaissance instrument and to work with it under all circumstances. Based on the colors of the rings on the indicator pipes, the personnel unmistakably identify the various groups of toxic substances with which the area or equipment are contaminated. The decontamination crew has become highly experienced in procuring degasifying and deactivating means and their use in decontaminating the area and the machines and equipment.

Before each class the formation commanders receive instructions from the service chief on the practical aspects of the topic under study, the use of the competitive method in reaching the required norms for one activity or

another, and so on. The method of regularly meeting the norms, which was adopted here, proved to be quite effective and has contributed to the creation of a competitive spirit in the study of the various topics, the observance of the stipulated time and the reaching of high quality training. In order to develop the habit of fast and accurate action, in a number of cases exercises have been repeated. During the training the personnel spend long periods of time working with gas masks and chemical protection clothing. As a result of this, the decontamination crew can dress, decontaminate a surface of 20 square meters and undress 3 minutes faster than stipulated in the norm.

The RKHz service and its formations distinguished themselves at the comprehensive target training in 1980. The service chief promptly takes the necessary measures for radiation and chemical detection. His reports and suggestions are well-founded and consistent with local conditions. By clarifying the radiation and chemical situation, he is of great help to the heads of the remaining services in earmarking safety measures and the actions of their own formations and, in the final account, to help the Civil Defense chief in making proper decisions.

In the course of the training the reconnaissance section carries out its task in model fashion while the decontamination crew opens a passageway for Civil Defense forces within a short time. It is no accident that these two formations took a leading position in the competitions organized by the rayon and Sofia Civil Defense staff in recent years. The successes are due to the fact that the command, the project staff and the RKHz service have created good conditions for the successful solution of the problems and are always concerned with matters related to the radiation and chemical safety of the project.

Poison Gas Defense

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1982 pp 12-13

[Article by Maj Georgi Kitov]

[Text] Readers Ivanka Marinova and Lyuben Georgiev from Pleven are interested in individual means for protection from BOV [Poison Gases]. Following is the answer of a Civil Defense specialist.

Gas masks, insulation instruments, special clothing, coveralls, cloaks, wraps, impregnated clothing and handy materials are considered individual means for protection from BOV. All such means may also be used for protection from radioactive and bacterial substances, but not vice versa.

The gas mask is the most reliable means for protecting the respiratory organs from toxic gases. It also protects the face, the eyes and, in some cases, even the skin on the head from toxic substances in the shape of vapors, fog, gas, smoke or drops, as well as from radioactive substances and bacterial means (malignant microbes and toxins).

Based on the principle of their action, the gas masks may be divided into filtering and insulating. Filtering gas masks include the general army gas mask (BSS-MO-4U), the civilian gas mask (MBGP-70), children's gas masks (DP-1 and DP-2), and the children's protective chamber (DK-72).

The general army gas mask (Figure 1) is used by the personnel of Civil Defense formations. It consists of a respirator, a connecting hose and a facial part--a headpiece. The mask comes in four sizes.

The civilian gas mask (Figure 2) is used for the protection of the adult population. It consists of a face section and a respirator which is bolted directly to the valve box (without connecting hose). The headpiece-mask of the gas mask comes in four different sizes.

Children's gas masks are used in the protection of children from the ages of 1 and 1/2 to 14. They come in two models--for children from the ages of 1 and 1/2 to 9--sizes 1 and 2 (consisting of a face part, connecting hose and respirator) and for children aged from 9 to 14--sizes 3 and 4 (consisting of a face part and a respirator directly bolted to the valve box).

The children's protective chamber is used for the protection of children under 18 months.

The insulating gas mask (Figure 4) is used for the protection of the personnel of reconnaissance and special purpose formations. It is used in cases of high concentration of combat and industrial toxic substances, in work in closed premises, in chemical and radiation reconnaissance, in putting out fires caused by napalm, and others. The headpiece-mask comes in three sizes. The hopcalite cartridge (Figure 5) must be mandatorily used in working in an atmosphere contaminated with carbon monoxide. It is added to the filtering gas mask. Its protective properties last about two hours.

The need to protect the entire body arises under conditions of chemical, radiation and biological contamination. Special (regulation) means of protection have been developed to this effect. However, handy materials can be used as well. The special means for the protection of the skin are used by the Civil Defense formation personnel in engaging in rescue and emergency accident repair operations in areas of a mass strike. According to their protective action principle they are classified into insulating and filtrating. The insulating facilities could be sealed (covering the entire body and protecting it from drops or toxic fumes) or unsealed (protecting only from droplets of toxic substances).

Lightweight protective clothing protects the skin from toxic and radioactive substances and bacteria. It comes in three sizes. When using it it is important to take into consideration the outside temperature. In the opposite case the overheating of the body (heat stroke) is possible.



Fig 1. General army
gas mask BSS-MO-4U



Fig 2. Civilian gas
mask MGBP-70



Fig 3. Children's gas
mask DP-2

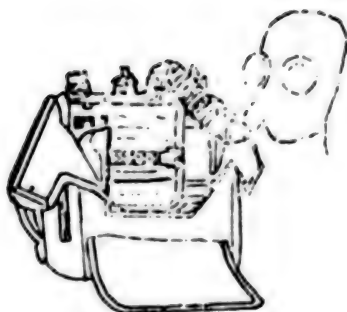


Fig 4. Insulating gas
mask IP-46 (46M)

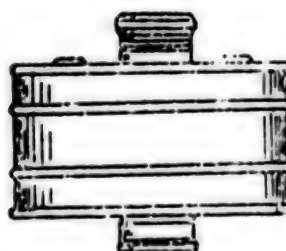


Fig 5. Hopcalite cartridge

Orientation Work Time Wearing Light Protective Clothing

Outside Temperature (degrees)	Length of work in light protective clothing
+ 30 or higher	No more than 20 minutes
+ 25 to + 29	No more than 30 minutes
+ 20 to + 24	No more than 50 minutes
+ 15 to + 19	No more than 2 hours
Under 15	4 to 5 hours

Remark: In cloudy weather time lengths may be extended by a factor of 1.2 - 2.

The protection kit consists of protective stockings, gloves and apron. The protective stockings protect the feet from liquid combat toxic and radioactive substances. They are used in crossing contaminated sectors and in engaging in degasification operations. They come in three sizes.

The protective gloves are used to protect the hands from liquid combat toxic and radioactive substances. The protective apron is used in degasification operations. In order to protect the skin from the fumes of combat toxic substances everyday clothing especially impregnated may be used as well.

Availability of individual protective means does not automatically resolve the problem of protecting the population from the harming factors of toxic gases and other mass destruction weapons. The population must be trained in their practical use.

First Aid in Chemical Contamination

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1982 pp 14-15

[Article by Dr Setka Andreeva, head assistant at the Medical-Sanitary Defense Chair at the Scientific Research Sanitary Medical Institute, Medical Academy in Sofia]

[Text] The most important feature in modern combat toxic substances (BOV) is their large variety and different ways of affecting the human body. This, along with the possibility of harming the people through the respiratory system, the gastrointestinal track, the surface mucous membranes or the healthy (undamaged) skin predetermines the great variety of damages. Hence the need for differentiated first aid to victims contaminated by the various types of BOV.

Shelters, gas masks, protective clothing and medical protective facilities are the most extensively applied contemporary means for protecting the population from the various types of chemical weapons. Bearing in mind the high toxicity and fast action of BOV, in the case of contamination first medical aid must be

given immediately after there has been contact with the body. Thus, for example, if a Vgas falls on the human skin in a dose ranging from 2 to 10 milligrams, and no required aid is given in the first 3 to 5 minutes, more than one-half of the victims will perish. That is why first medical aid in a chemical contamination center (OKhZ) must consist of self-aid and mutual aid until the medical formations have arrived.

The basic measures for first aid in OKhZ are the following:

Blocking any further access to the body of toxic substances;

Removing the toxic substance from the body;

Administering specific drugs (antidotes) to counter the poison which has entered the body;

Measures based on urgent life indicators.

In order to stop inhaling BOV, a special gas mask must be put on the victim. This is an individual protective means for all BOC known so far. Protective clothing is used for the skin (Figure 1), not as first aid but in order to protect the formation troops operating in a chemical contamination center.

The toxic substances which fall on a healthy skin could be resorbed, for which reason they must be immediately removed. In a number of cases this is a decisive rescue action. The removal of the poisons from the skin is achieved through partial or total sanitary treatment.

Partial sanitary treatment involves the use of gauze tampons and degasification solutions found in the individual protection kit. Initially, the toxic substance is mechanically absorbed with a gauze tampon, after which it is chemically neutralized by using first the solution in the small vessel contained in the kit (alkaline solution), followed by the content of the larger vessel (a weak oxidizing agent). All-purpose degasification solutions have been developed recently to replace the two currently used solutions.

The full sanitary processing must take place within a 24-hour period following the partial processing. This involves bathing the body in hot water with soap and a change of clothing. Its purpose is to remove from the clothing the toxic substances and the products of chemical compounds which have developed in the course of the partial sanitary treatment and which, if left untreated for a long time, may irritate the skin.

The administration of antidotes for the poison is one of the most important first aid measures. The antidote must be administered within the shortest possible time. To this effect the antidotes are prepared most frequently ahead of schedule in readytouse syringes (Figure 2). Every citizen of our country must be supplied with them (and instructed in their use). The syringes contained in the individual protection kit or individual first aid kit contain an antidote for first aid in the case of poisoning with a nerve-paralytical toxin. The syringe must be administered intramuscularly as self

or mutual aid in the first 3 to 5 minutes following contact between the body and the toxin. Any delay significantly reduces the effect of the antidote.

Some antidotes can be administered orally. In most cases they are used for preventive purposes. However, we must be familiar with the existing preventive antidote for nerveparalytical BOV. It consists of the preparation MKK68. It comes in tablets included in the individual first aid kit. The tablets must be taken before entering an area contaminated by toxic phosphor-organic substances. They are of great importance particularly in the case of Civil Defense formations which provide assistance in chemical contamination centers.

Most of the toxic substances disturb the respiratory functions. Stopped or greatly weakened respiration is an urgent indicator that artificial respiration is needed (Figure 3). Nor should we forget the fact that artificial respiration can be administered only in an area free from BOV. Should it be come necessary within an OKhZ in order to save the life of the person, it should be administered while wearing a gas mask. Bearing in mind that among the artificial respiration methods, given the nature of contemporary BOV, the most efficient is the "mouth to mouth" or "mouth to nose" respiration, it is clear that it must be applied outside the contaminated area. The most efficient is artificial respiration with an instrument, rendered as first medical aid by secondary medical personnel.

In order to provide first medical aid to the population in OKhZ, it must be familiar with such activities and equipped with the necessary facilities. This would reduce to a minimum the number of heavy casualties and would make possible their further successful treatment in the medical centers of the Civil Defense Medical Service.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

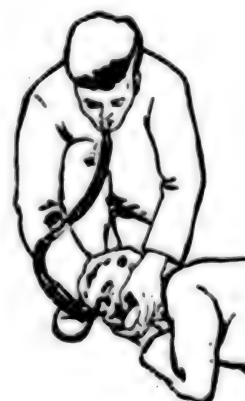


Fig. 3

Hygiene-Epidemiological Measures

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1982 pp 16-17

[Article by Dr Stancho Kashlakevski and Dr Stefan Krusev]

[Text] The use of nuclear weapons will create severe sanitary-hygienic circumstances in the stricken city. The destruction will be tremendous.

Communal-technical systems will break down, which will include the water and sewer mains. The area will be strongly polluted by fecal and sewer waters. The lack of water and of sanitation centers will hinder the observance of basic hygiene rules. For a while dead bodies will be left on the streets of the destroyed city and rodents, flies and other insects will appear. Hygiene will worsen also as a result of the contamination of the territory, the houses, the clothing and the people with radioactive matter. In the wake of the radioactive cloud water sources and food and fodder stocks will be polluted along with farm crops, which will complicate the situation in the neighboring areas. Under the influence of ionizing radiation the immunity of the body will change and its protective reactions and resistance to adverse external factors and infections will decline.

No destruction follows the use of toxic combat substances. However, the territory of the stricken area becomes contaminated for a varying period of time. The contamination of food products and water sources and the harming of humans assume substantial importance.

The use of biological weapons leads to the contamination of vast territories. In this case the biological agents may retain their malignant qualities over shorter or longer periods of time. The hygienic and epidemiological situation becomes particularly adverse in areas of combined strikes.

After receiving information on an attack conducted on the okrug territory, the Civil Defense Medical Service must assess the medical situation. One of the main problems in this case is to determine the type of weapon used. We must assess possibilities of work by operational antiepidemiological formations and institutions, in accordance with which we determine possibilities of their most efficient utilization. Connections are established with neighboring okrugs for the exchange of reciprocal information on the sanitary-hygienic and epidemiological situation.

During the rescue operations in the area of a nuclear strike the organs of the hygiene-epidemiological inspectorate control the activities of the antiepidemiological formations sent to the area. Such formations engage in steady epidemiological reconnaissance on the territory of the stricken area in order to identify within the shortest possible time victims of infectious diseases and isolate them promptly. They must take a set of steps related to the established sanitary-hygiene situation in the stricken area, supervise sanitary processing, and others. The hygiene sections, sample testing groups, radiological laboratories and radiological groups of the hygiene-epidemiological inspectorates engage in sanitary (radiological) supervision of food products and water and provide expert evaluations and conclusions on their suitability and usefulness, closely interacting with veterinary-sanitary organs and radiometric laboratories.

In a chemically contaminated center antiepidemiological measures are of essential importance because of the toxic harming of the body. They cover the entire stricken territory. Strict hygiene control is organized regarding the sanitary processing of the population. Certain antiepidemiological measures are carried out in the treatment-prophylactic institutions and mainly in

the main and specialized hospitals of the hospital complexes. The work regimen is strictly controlled.

Should a chemical contamination area appear, the main efforts of the hygiene-epidemiological inspectorates are focused on establishing sanitary-chemical control over the open air objects on the territory, in order to protect the Civil Defense formations engaged in rescue operations and the population from the indirect effect of the toxic substances used. Such control applies mainly to the large food depots of commercial organizations, raw materials and finished products of food industry enterprises, drinking water, and the living and working environment.

The overall management of the measures carried out in a biologically contaminated area is in the hands of a specific administrative leading organ. Sanitary-hygienic and antiepidemiological measures are of major significance in sanitizing contaminated areas. The problems which the organs of the Civil Defense Medical Service must resolve are a reflection of the general and individual principles used in peacetime in limiting and eliminating natural outbreaks of epidemics. Let us point out, however, that under wartime conditions differences exist in terms of the volume, skill and time needed for the implementation of such measures. The characteristics in the organization of antiepidemiological measures are based on whether or not the civilian population must be dispersed and evacuated and whether or not the work of national economic projects within the contaminated area must continue. It is important in organizing the work on the elimination of the consequences to use the facilities and forces of all Civil Defense services. Each service carries out specific assignments: population information, decontamination, sanitary processing, disinfection, evacuation, maintenance of public order and of isolation-restrictive rules, supplying the population with food and prime necessity objects, and others.

Through its antiepidemiological formations, microbiological and virusological laboratories, sanitary units and others, the Civil Defense Medical Service engages in biological reconnaissance and detection of biological weapons and issues specific instructions on applying an antiepidemiological work regimen in national economic projects. The early detection and hospitalization and proper treatment of patients suffering from infectious diseases, as well as control in decontamination of the territory of production enterprises, transportation facilities and others, are basic and important measures which rapidly restrict and eliminate biologically contaminated areas. The medical service specialists engage also in sanitary-hygiene control of food and water supplies. They provide expert evaluations of food products and water; engage in urgent and specific preventive work among the population; ensure the application of an antiepidemiological regimen in population dispersion and evacuation from the contaminated area and participate in clearing activities within the boundaries of the quarantined area; they engage in disinfection, disinsection and deratization in accordance with the circumstances and conditions; they engage in specific sanitation-instruction work among the population, etc. Should a particularly dangerous infection break out, essentially the treatment of the patients takes place on site by opening a specialized medical institution--a hospital--within the area. Should an area of combined

strike appear and should it be required by the circumstances, infectious patients may be treated in hospitals outside the area as well. In such cases, the specific requirements of the okrug medical service must be strictly observed. Their purpose is to prevent the spreading of the epidemic.

Because of the reorganization of the work of the medical service from peace to wartime and the reassignment of medical cadres to perform specific activities, not all necessary tasks and measures in the contaminated area may be carried out. For this reason, not only the other Civil Defense services but the sanitary aktiv and the entire able-bodied population must be recruited in activities aimed at eliminating the biologically contaminated area.

Should a combined strike area appear, the hygiene-antiepidemiological measures will be determined by the nature of its impact. Should the area be the result of the three types of mass destruction weapons (nuclear, chemical and biological), the hygiene-epidemiological situation will be the most difficult and most complex. The damages--traumas, burns and radiation strikes--will be worsened and become more complex because of contamination with radioactive and toxic substances and infection agents. This calls for a strict observance of the rules of personal hygiene, intensified sanitary control of food and drinking water, the application of restrictive measures, the decontamination of the territories, buildings and installations, and so on.

Any combination of such weapons requires a specific approach in terms of detection and reconnaissance and the application of corresponding decontamination methods. The restrictive measures are quite varied. However, should biological agents be present, regardless of the other striking factors, quarantines and observation measures, which apply in biologically contaminated areas, become fully relevant.

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BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS DESCRIBED, PROTECTIVE MEASURES RECOMMENDED

Protection From Biological Weapons

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 8, 1982 pp 6-9

[Interview with Maj Gen Prof Nikolay Kупenov, chief of the Higher Military Medical Institute]

[Text] Question: Comrade Major General, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA recently published disturbing facts on biological attacks mounted by the United States in recent years against the peoples of Cuba, Afghanistan and others. What is your comment on these facts?

Answer: Indeed, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published staggering facts on U. S. preparations for biological warfare and use of biological weapons today against some countries, Cuba above all. The irritation shown by the U. S. imperialist circles at the discussion held in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA proves that the criminal was caught at the site of the crime. These facts expose the true nature of imperialism and lead to the conclusion that the danger that biological weapons could be used in a modern war has not been eliminated.

Question: What are biological weapons, how do they affect live organisms and what are the directions followed in improving them?

Answer: Biological weapons (or, to use their older and not entirely accurate name--bacteriological weapons) are of a particular nature. Their striking factors are biological agents such as bacteria, viruses, rickettsia, fungi or biological toxins. The biological weapons are pathogenic microorganisms and their toxins used in deliberately contaminating people, animals and plants. These are the same microorganisms and toxins which, under natural conditions, cause infectious diseases in people, animals and plants.

It is a characteristic feature that the biological arsenal includes an exceptionally large number of microorganisms and toxins, which cause a great variety of infectious diseases and intoxications which develop in different ways. The treatment also varies according to the agent and the nature of the disease itself. The imperialists are preparing to use as biological weapons

microorganisms which cause severe and lethal infections and intoxications. In this connection, I deem it suitable to mention that the imperialists are engaged in extensive scientific research aimed at upgrading the virulence of the various microorganisms and changing their immunobiological characteristics with a view to surmounting the biological barriers erected in the body, increasing their resistance to the external environment, and so on. This is accomplished essentially through so-called genetic engineering, which uses a variety of means to affect the genetic apparatus of the microorganisms and hence their characteristics. To this effect a variety of methods are used such as ultraviolet and ionizing radiation, the effect of some chemicals, and others.

The principal means of use of biological weapons will most likely be with the help of aerosols, i.e., the spraying of microbes and toxins in the form of aerosols. This means that we may expect the contamination of all outside objects such as people, animals, plants, soil, air, food, water, transportation facilities, equipment, and others. This may lead to the mass contamination of hundreds and thousands of people.

Since in contagious diseases an incubation period is needed, the contaminated individuals will not become ill at the time of the contamination but later, after a certain period of time, during which time they are practically healthy. This makes possible, as a result of contacts with them, the contamination of more and more people who were not exposed to the direct influence of the biological weapon and were in areas in which no such weapon was used at all. All of this creates exceptionally complex epidemiological situations.

Question: What international agreements have been concluded banning the use of biological weapons and what has happened to them?

Answer: The Geneva protocol which bans the use of strangulating, toxic and other similar gases and bacteriological weapons was signed as early as 1925. This proves that the nations realized the danger of chemical and bacteriological weapons quite some time ago. However, the result of this convention has been null. Biological weapons have not only not been abandoned but have been improved by a number of imperialist countries. As was proved at the Khabarovsk trial after World War II, by order of Emperor Hirohito, the Japanese developed the notorious biological weapons centers known as "Unit 731" and "Unit 100" in which they extensively cultivated the agents of the plague, cholera, foot and mouth disease, gas gangrene, Siberian ulcer, and others, and experimented on people.

In 1933 the German fascists engaged in experiments in studying the possibility of contaminating the Paris subway; during World War II they experimented with biological weapons on people in the Treblinka, Majdanek and Auschwitz concentration camps. The Hitlerites converted the biological institute in Poznan into a biological warfare preparations center.

In 1944 the United States used biological weapons against China. In 1952 the United States used biological weapons in Korea.

All of this indicates that the 1925 Geneva protocol is no more than a piece of paper.

On 31 March 1971 the United Nations General Assembly approved a draft convention banning biological weapons, as suggested by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. Following its ratification by the United States and England, in March 1975 the convention was signed not only by the socialists but, with few exceptions, the capitalist countries of all five continents. The signing of this convention was universally approved and led to the hope that prerequisites had been created to prevent the use of cruel and exceptionally dangerous weapons, such as the biological weapons. At the same time, bearing in mind historical experience and the nature of capitalism, some people reasonable reasonably asked themselves the following question: Could this convention be relied upon?

The facts presented in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA are quite eloquent and quite alarming in this respect. What aspects of this abundant amount of data deserve particular attention?

It turned out that while it proclaimed that it was joining the convention, the United States was engaging in efforts to conceal biological weapons in various hideouts. Involved in such activities were the then CIA Director Helms, his deputy Karamesines and one Gottlieb. Data were cited to the effect that all bacteriological stockpiles of the U. S. Army were moved to the (Edgewood) military arsenal in Maryland instead of being destroyed.

In its 15 January 1982 issue THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote that "The U. S. administration has decided on a tentative basis to include in the 1983 budget some \$810 million for the production of chemical and biological weapons. To this purpose \$455 million will be included in this year's budget." This quotation needs no comment.

A branch of Maryland University, known as the "Pakistan Medical Research Center (PMRC) has been set up in Lahore, in Pakistan. The director is the American Davin Millin. It has been confirmed that the center is testing means for waging biological warfare. Recently dozens of Lahoreans living near the urban laboratories of the PMRC were bitten by mosquitos, although mosquitos are not to be found in the area. These people caught yellow fever, hepatitis, and other diseases. The Americans opened an outpatient clinic for these victims and treated them with the preparation Antibe. However, as the result of this treatment 11 people became insane. It turned out that the experiments were being continued in the outpatient clinic as well.

Quite interesting data were provided by the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent, who was able to take a look at the PMRC, where the insects are being multiplied and work is being done to develop strains more convenient for use as biological weapons.

Data were obtained on the current use of biological weapons against some countries, Cuba in particular. What are the facts?

A swine plague epidemic broke out in Cuba in 1971. This was the first such outbreak in the Western hemisphere, on a sudden mass basis. It affected 500,000 animals. The same year, again in Cuba, all of a sudden a mass fungal disease appeared in the sugarcane and, somewhat later, a "gray mold" was noted on the tobacco crop. Once again there was an extensive breakout of swine plague in 1980 while in 1981 there was an outbreak of hemorrhagic dengue fever which affected 350,000 people.

The only explanation for all of these facts lies in the use of biological weapons, of which Fidel Castro publicly accused the U. S. government.

The question arises: Why after signing the convention on banning biological weapons has the United States been violating it from the moment it was signed and is continuing not only to produce but to use such weapons?

The only possible answer is that it believes that the use of biological weapons cannot be proven, for under natural conditions as well infectious diseases break out. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA cites from the records of a meeting of the special U. S. Senate subcommittee, which dealt with problems of biological warfare in May 1969: "It is difficult to prove culpability of preparations for attack (with the BB biological weapon), for the organisms which trigger the disease exist in nature in one way or another. Should such organisms be used secretly, one could argue that the situation is the result of a spontaneous epidemic. The world has experienced thousands of epidemics and there has always been a first case of any kind of specific outbreak in any given part of the world.... In the absence of other proof, an epidemic outbreak of one disease or another cannot be proof of biological attack."

This type of reasoning is not only impudent but, in some respects, naive. Science has ways to determine, with few exceptions, a disease which has broken out naturally or has been the result of the use of biological weapons. Let us clearly state that the scientific arguments based on epidemiological studies conducted by Cuban specialists are strong and prove the use of biological weapons.

Question: Unquestionably, under critical circumstances the Civil Defense organs would be forced to counteract, to struggle against the consequences of the use of biological weapons. Could you indicate to us some of the tasks of the Civil Defense services and formations, should the enemy use biological weapons?

Answer: Defense against any kind of weapon requires above all good knowledge of the weapon and its striking effect on the body. This effect is exceptionally varied and a number of different measures exist for prevention and treatment. We must be familiar with all of them.

The Civil Defense and, in particular, the Medical and Protection of Animals and Plants services and their institutions and formations bear the main responsibility for the organization and implementation of measures related to protecting the population, the livestock and plants should biological contamination areas appear. Their proper organization and advance training determine their ability to act promptly and efficiently in such stricken areas.

The main role in protecting people in such areas will be played by the mass formations (sanitary units and posts) and the medical specialized formations and institutions--antiepidemiological detachments and groups, microbiological laboratories, groups in charge of taking samples from various objects in the environment, and others. Teams in charge of protecting animals and plants, who must be trained under peacetime conditions and engage in efficient struggle against various contagious diseases in animals and plants, will play an important role in protecting them.

These services and formations must improve their training in quickly diagnosing the type of infectious diseases which could be used as biological weapons, with a view to identifying their use at the earliest possible time and engage in preventive and protective measures. In this respect the prompt and proper organization of mass isolation and quarantine measures, specific and emergency prophylactic treatment and the implementation of hygiene measures (sanitary processing, disinfection) and others are of very great importance.

Not only Civil Defense services, establishments and formations should be well familiar with the characteristics of biological weapons and means against it. Since the effectiveness of protective measures largely depends on the participation of the population itself, every citizen must become familiar with the main features of biological weapons and particularly with measures related to protection from it and behavior in its use. That is why the medical topics included in the curriculum for the mass training of the population must be studied attentively and extensively. The people must learn how practically to identify the characteristics showing the presence of and contamination with biological weapons and to be able to protect themselves.

The organization of the work of Civil Defense services and formations must be improved by improving the interaction among all organs involved in protection from biological weapons.

Bacteriological Warfare Incubators

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 8, 1982 pp 8-10

[Facts culled from the foreign press, mainly the American]

[Text] A declassified CIA memorandum describes a laboratory instrument known as "Biogen," whose purpose is the mass production of microscopic carriers of epidemics outside the United States. Despite the official pledge of the American authorities to terminate the development of biological weapons, this machine is continuing to operate in Baltimore (Maryland).

With a view to developing a method for the poisoning of a maximum number of people in the course of bacteriological warfare, the University of Maryland undertook a series of biological experiments in Lahore, a city in Pakistan. Within that city 30 people contracted yellow fever from mosquitos unknown to this area.

Information provided by spies reveal the CIA headquarters resident in Tanzania was assigned the task of collecting Tanzanian crocodile gall bladders, which are strongly toxic. The CIA receives from Latin America the poison curare and Venezuelan encephalomyelitis. From Alaska it receives "oyster poison," a strong biological weapon. All of these hellish types of ammunition are stored in Bunker No 459 in the Fort Dietrich arsenal in Maryland. Only selected military personnel and CIA members have access to it. In the 1960s and 1970s, such toxins were dropped on Indochina and Cuba. At the beginning of this year they were dropped with bombs on El Salvador in areas held by the guerrillas.

CIA specialist Gottlieb was subpoenaed by the Senate committee investigating illegal CIA activities. He reported that the CIA tried on three occasions to send to Fidel Castro visitors bearing "friendly gifts," consisting of "portulene contaminated cigars." A suit contaminated with tuberculosis was made for him. He was sent a poison-shooting pen.

In his time, a bacteriological poison based on an African prescription was prepared for the murder of Patrice Lumumba. It was Gottlieb himself who took this poison to the Congo. Meanwhile, however, the local CIA agents were able to organize the bloody murder of the Congolese leader.

Competent Afghan representatives have exposed the CIA's effort to use the Lahore insect incubator to trigger an epidemic of encephalitis among nomad Afghan-Pakistani livestock-breeding tribes. Such experiments may be used in waging bacteriological warfare. The CIA makes not only theoretical but practical use of *Aedes Egypta* mosquitos as agents of epidemics in Cuba. At the same time, Lahoreans who were bitten by such mosquitos developed yellow fever, hepatitis, and white fever. The local medical authorities reported in the press that mosquitos from the laboratory of the Pakistan Medical Research Center were the source of the contamination.

Until the summer of 1975 a laboratory and warehouse for toxins, strychnine, cobra poison and toxins striking at the brain, kidneys and blood vessels were located in the CIA building not far from the Department of State in Washington. They were managed by three CIA officials.

An agent of the U. S. Secret Services has admitted that an unidentified member of the CIA informed the newspaper *NEWSDAY* that at the beginning of 1971 the CIA gave him a special container with viruses at Fort (Gulic) in the Panama Canal Zone which belonged to the American army. He passed on the container aboard a fishing vessel to agents operating clandestinely in Cuba.

In his book "Chemical-Biological Weapons--America's Secret Arsenal" Seymour Horsch presents an original inventory of mass destruction weapons stored in Fort Dietrich. Mosquitos contaminated by yellow fever, malaria and dengue viruses, which were detected in Cuba, were kept there in heavily guarded depots. Also stored were carriers of Colorado plague, cholera, Siberian ulcer and others. This entire arsenal is not for defense, as Washington officials claim, but for biological aggression.

During the second half of 1981 the population of various parts of India suddenly began to suffer from liver diseases; bacillus of conjunctivitis, meningitis, and encephalitis appeared. On the other hand, agriculture was affected by the so-called "bad grass" which caused among the workers in tobacco fields the outbreak of an unusual disease whose symptoms were breathing difficulties, vomiting, dizziness and others. According to specialists, this is the work of the American professor David Melin, from the American-Pakistani center for research and development of subversive biological means, in Lahore.

These facts need no comment. The readers can assess by themselves their significance and the barbaric imperialist plans and draw conclusions regarding their civil defense preparedness.

In a Biological Contamination Center

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 8, pp 10-12

[Article by Dr Stancho Kashlakevski, senior instructor, and Dr Stefan Krusev, scientific associate]

[Text] The isolation-restrictive measures taken in a biological contamination center (OBZ) are largely a prerequisite for its rapid and efficient elimination. The overall system of measures (quarantine and observation) and the time for their application are determined by the type of biological agent. Depending on their power of contamination, biological weapons cause severely contagious, low contagious and noncontagious diseases. This classification is of practical importance in determining the epidemiological situation and the condition in a given territory and earmarking the antiepidemiological measures which must be carried out.

The biological center includes biologically contaminated settlements. In defining its boundaries, we must take into consideration not only the administrative boundaries of the settlements but the adjacent settlements as well, regardless of whether their environment has been entirely or partially contaminated or not.

In settlements which are subject to direct contamination and the areas subject to population evacuation and dispersal away from the contaminated center, quarantine measures must be taken and the areas which border them must be kept under observation. The state of quarantine is proclaimed by the okrug Civil Defense chief immediately after the use of biological weapons by the enemy has been determined or suspected as well as if there is danger of epidemic outbreak.

Quarantine is a system of antiepidemiological measures the purpose of which is to ensure the complete isolation of the contaminated center, including people, animals and other external objects from the surrounding population living in the noncontaminated territory and the elimination of diseases within the contaminated center itself.

In addition to epidemiological observation, observation includes many other medical-prophylactic and isolation-restriction measures which help to prevent the dissemination of contaminable diseases.

Once the results of the specific indications regarding the type of biological weapon used have been obtained, a decision is made as to whether to extend the quarantine or convert to a regimen of observation of the area of the specific administrative territory. The quarantine measures are retained in the existence of agents of highly contagious diseases such as plague, cholera or smallpox, or the appearance of mass outbreaks of melioidosis, foot and mouth disease, anthrax, spotted fever, psittacosis and yellow fever.

Quarantine measures are replaced by observation if low contamination or non-contagious diseases are identified. This takes place only after disinfection or self-decontamination of external objects and total sanitary treatment of the population within the center.

The proclamation of a state of quarantine is paralleled by a state of observation of all the areas of the administrative territory adjacent to the quarantined area. Because of the dispersal and evacuation of the population from the biological contamination center, the boundaries of the quarantined areas are broadened in accordance with the boundaries of the areas to which the population has been evacuated.

In a state of quarantine, the area of the biological center is isolated. Its boundaries are guarded and roads leading into the contaminated territory are blocked. At the same time, strict control is maintained in the traffic of people and the removal of property from the quarantined area. The transit crossing of motor vehicles is forbidden. Individuals who leave the quarantined area are subjected to specific observation measures.

During the quarantine period mass medical-sanitary formations go to the homes, interrogate the people on the existence of symptoms characteristic of the contagious disease, take the temperature of the people, issue instructions on the behavior of the population and on limiting contacts among individual collectives, families, and so on, under the guidance of the antiepidemiological formations. It is particularly important to establish an antiepidemiological regimen at work, in urban transportation, the commercial network, public catering institutions, national economic projects, and others. The implementation of such measures, which are dependent on the epidemiological situation, makes the continuity of the production process possible. A strict antiepidemiological system is applied in medical-prophylactic institutions operating inside the center.

In order to supply the population with services and food products, water and prime necessity goods, the personnel of the hygiene-epidemiological inspectorate organize antiepidemiological supervision of nutrition and water supplies. They see to it that the population, enterprises and departments observe strictly the stipulated quarantine rules. All food industry projects are subject to a special technological work system, thus ensuring the production of noncontaminated goods, and so on.

The resistance of biological agents in the atmosphere calls for the decontamination of the corresponding objects and industrial goods and the sanitary processing of the population. The rules applicable to infectious diseases must be observed in burying the dead.

The uninterrupted and purposeful sanitary-educational work among the population plays a major role in the proper organization and conduct of antiepidemiological measures and the fast and efficient elimination of biological contamination centers. This includes the distribution of leaflets and behavior instructions, talks on the radio, television and radio relay speakers, use of special cars equipped with loudspeakers, and others.

Some isolation-restrictive steps are taken in areas under observation, similar to those in quarantined areas. Their nature is based on the type of the infecting agent and the targets and assignments set to avoid any further spreading of the epidemic.

In all cases, the measures are of restrictive and preventive nature and include the following: restricting entry, exit and crossing of the area under observation; decontamination of contaminated items in the environment and sanitary processing of the population; active early detection of infectious cases and their isolation and hospitalization; emergency prevention measures in the case of people who have been in contact with infected patients or the causes of infectious diseases; strengthened medical control in sanitary-hygiene and antiepidemiological measures; institution of an antiepidemiological regimen of work in medical-prophylactic establishments; strengthened veterinary-sanitary control over livestock and its output; specific medical instructions, and others.

Following the completion of rescue and emergency accident repair operations in the stricken centers, the Civil Defense forces undertake the sanitary cleaning of the center.

The basic purpose of the sanitary cleaning is to make harmless all organic matter which could become an environment in which epidemic diseases may break out and spread. The sanitary cleaning measures take place essentially in the stricken center. They apply to dead people and animals, pollution caused by destroyed sewer systems, septic tanks and pits, destroyed warehouses storing food products and raw materials and finished goods, emergency water sources (wells) for drinking, industrial and household needs, affected farmyards of agroindustrial complexes, vacant settlement lots, and others.

The sanitary cleaning measures must be carried out within the shortest possible time in accordance with the nature of the damage, shelters, size of irreversible losses, destruction of economic projects, the time of year, meteorological conditions and the possibilities of Civil Defense forces and facilities. Sanitary cleaning is assigned to specific formations, while methodical guidance and sanitary control over the measures in the stricken areas are provided by the Civil Defense medical service.

During the sanitary cleaning the formations trained for such purposes engage in the following basic activities: gather, transport and bury the corpses of

humans and animals; sanitize subsequently discovered decayed corpses in the wreckage and decontaminate the sites; process the transport facilities taking the corpses to the burial areas; engage in breakdown repair operations in the destroyed sections of the sewer system and mechanically clean and disinfect repaired systems and the surrounding area; clean and sanitize organic waste by burning, treating with disinfection facilities or burying; repair, clean and disinfect emergency water sources in the course of breakdown repair operations prior to their utilization; clean open areas in settlements and agroindustrial complex yards from waste; carry out disinsection and deratization operations with a view to killing insects and rodents, etc.

The formation troops and commanders must mandatorily carry out their sanitary cleaning while wearing protective clothing and rubber gloves. After work the personnel must be subject to complete sanitary treatment and the transportation facilities must be disinfected. If necessary, proper immunization actions are taken and the personnel who participated in the sanitary cleaning are kept under medical observation.

After the sanitary cleaning measures have been carried out in the stricken area, the medical service organs must maintain strengthened sanitary control and epidemiological observation of the entire territory of the centers.

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CSO: 2200/150

QUESTION OF ANTIRADIATION SHELTERS DISCUSSED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 8, 1982 pp 13-15

[Discussion: "An Important Task in Population Protection"]

[Text] In its No 9 1981 issue GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA published a letter by Nikolay Nikolov, mayor of Sreburna Village. Along with describing practical experience, the author raised some unresolved questions related to building and antiradiation shelters (PRU). The editors used the occasion to initiate a discussion on such problems.

The discussion was received with interest by the readers. The editors received a number of letters some of which were published. They expressed views on the experience shared by N. Nikolov, and raised new questions related to the building, equipping and maintaining of PRU.

In order to answer the questions raised in the course of the discussion, the editors addressed themselves to specialists from the Civil Defense staff of the Bulgarian People's Republic. Following is a summarizing article, which is published with the hope that both it and our discussion on PRU will contribute to the successful solution of such responsible problems important in terms of protecting the population.

The publication of this summing up article does not indicate an end to the discussion. The editors will continue willingly to publish materials and letters discussing more efficient solutions, sharing experience, expressing views or addressing critical remarks on the subject of building and maintaining antiradiation shelters. Some of the suggestions and letters to the editors will be submitted to the Civil Defense command of the Bulgarian People's Republic for resolution through official channels.

Sheltering the population in protective facilities is a basic means for protection from mass destruction weapons. According to the current legal documents, antiradiation shelters (PRU) must be built to shelter most of the population. Consequently, providing the necessary antiradiation shelters will resolve in the main the problem of protecting the population.

In order to assess the readiness to protect the workers in a given enterprise or the population in a settlement, the sheltering plan must be considered. It must mandatorily include the following data: the number of people to be

sheltered, the number of built PRU and their capacity, the number of shelters which are still needed and those which must be subsequently adapted for the purpose. Readiness to shelter the people in a given project or settlement is based on the number of existing PRU and the number of such shelters which must be adapted for this purpose during the preparedness periods.

The letter received from Sreburna Village, with which GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA initiated the discussion on the PRU, discusses extensively the following questions: how, when and how many PRU must be adapted in order to become suitable premises. Most of the materials published in the section "Our Discussion on PRU" emphasize the question of adaptation. In isolated cases the question is raised of building PRU in the course of peacetime construction.

Essentially, the problem of acquiring the necessary number of protective installations cannot be resolved in the course of a shorter or longer campaign, carried out mainly with "available" materials and facilities. This is an activity which takes place mainly in peacetime, by using in the course of construction materials and facilities which will ensure the protection of the population from mass destruction weapons. The creation of protective conditions is regulated with a number of laws. It is precisely their implementation that is the main direction to be followed in providing reliable population shelters.

Most of the materials published in the course of the discussion deal with the requirements which a PRU must meet. Since this question is treated in detail in the official document "Instructions on Designing and Building Antiradiation Shelters in Buildings," we shall not discuss it. We believe that it is more important to seek the reasons for cases of violations of the stipulations regarding the building of PRU in new construction projects. Unfortunately, they are numerous.

Let us begin by pointing out the inadequate efficiency of control on the building of antiradiation shelters included as part of blueprints for the construction of private and public buildings. Practical experience has shown that the control exercised by Civil Defense organs and technical services of councils is extremely insufficient. It is clearly as a result of underestimating the importance that some members of technical services thoughtlessly sign or ignore violations in carrying out one construction project or another. It is hardly necessary to prove that if the building of a PRU is part of the blueprint, failure to carry it out is a gross violation of the design. This violation can and must be punished quite legally by the respective officials. Holding officially liable the technicians of the councils (municipalities) and the technicians who control private construction under the settlement building economic directorate, in terms of observing the stipulations of building PRU is an effective means for strengthening control. The construction of PRU in public buildings can be efficiently controlled by including Civil Defense staff members in the acceptance commissions. Suitable officials could include not only the deputy chiefs of staffs in charge of engineering protection but other full time Civil Defense staff personnel as well.

Explanatory work plays an important role in observing the stipulations of PRU construction regulations. Many of our readers have shared their views on this

matter in their letters to the editors. The convincing explanation of the need for PRU, carried out during Civil Defense training, in the press and in radiobroadcasts--central and local--and at meetings and training rallies contribute to the successful solution of problems related to the protection of the people in shelters.

No less important is the strict registration of existing PRU, which must be periodically checked and whose owners must mandatorily maintain their equipment and systems in proper order.

It is erroneous to believe that all such problems must be resolved exclusively by professional Civil Defense officials. Nearly all technical personnel are part of Civil Defense services, staffs and formations in one way or another; they are familiar with requirements governing the building of PRU and can supervise them successfully. Furthermore, it is rare for a manager of a settlement, establishment or enterprise who has undergone Civil Defense training. Consequently, the managers are familiar with requirements, and can supervise and demand their implementation.

Another matter which is raised in virtually all letters is that of the shortage of antiradiation shelters in public buildings and housing cooperatives. In such cases suitable cellar and underground premises must be adapted for use as PRU. We must begin by determining the number and capacity of such premises, bearing in mind the size of the population which will be evacuated to the area. A competent commission must then assess the technical characteristics of the premises and determine the people who will be sheltered in them.

The question of when must such premises be established has been raised. The answer is: when the sheltering plan is drafted. It is only then, in calm circumstances, that all the requirements which such premises must meet can be most suitably considered. During preparations for an exercise there is no sufficient time for such activities and errors could be made. The purpose is to ensure suitable shelter for all families. Wherever this is impossible, the families must be directed to the neighboring PRU after informing in advance the owner and those who seek shelter. The two families must jointly participate in preparing the shelter.

The letter by N. Nikolov and other letters to the editors discussed extensively the question of organizing the equipment of a PRU. This proves that considerable experience has been acquired and that a proper approach has been taken to resolve this problem. All possibilities for extensively informing the population regarding PRU requirements should be used. The basic method to be used in training the population to equip a PRU 's to make and demonstrate in the various districts (Fatherland Front organizations) of model PRU in the homes of Fatherland Front activists, Civil Defense officials, and others. A competition should be organized in this area. It is also suitable to involve school students in the campaign for equipping PRU.

The best means for training the population in equipping PRU is its mass participation in civil defense exercises. If the exercise is organized in such a way that every citizen becomes involved in the actual adaptation of PRU for sheltering his family, the purpose of the exercise will be attained. In the

course of equipping the PRU and checking the work, competent aid must be provided above all by the regular Civil Defense officials and activists in the local areas. It is they who act as PRU "instructors."

Another question asked is "Should the equipment be kept in place during PRU exercises?" This question must be answered mainly by the owners of the premises. Unquestionably, they may remove some facilities which hinder the peacetime use of the premises. Nevertheless, we must point out that the permanent fixtures such as natural ventilation systems, heavy or steel hatches which seal entrances must not be destroyed. They must be moved to areas where they will not be underfoot.

An original suggestion was formulated in the course of the discussion on creating "household taverns" containing PRU equipment. Some practical questions were asked such as should "PRU" signs be posted? Is it proper for requirements of "model house" to include a PRU? Should the PRU be hermetically sealed in advance and should materials be procured in advance for equipping a PRU?

The following must be taken into consideration in resolving such problems: no PRU sign is needed for PRU sheltering one or two families. However, such signs must be posted in the case of public shelters which will contain a larger number of people. Including the stipulation of available PRU in granting the title of "model home" can be accepted only if the shelter has been built according to the proper design. A preliminary installation of a PRU is not a mandatory requirement, for this would hinder its peacetime use. The suggestion of combining the building of "household taverns" used as PRU is acceptable but can be implemented only by the owner's permission. Still, some thought should be given to finding a rational technical solution to this suggestion.

Let us say in conclusion that the discussion in this periodical has helped to clarify some problems related to sheltering the population in PRU. The conclusion to be drawn from all of this is that the main attention must be focused on acquiring the necessary protective facilities in peacetime and creating an optimal organization for adapting other premises as PRU during periods of readiness. The best solution of this problem is provided by properly prepared and carried out civil defense exercises involving population participation.

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SO: 2200/150

SECRETARY OUTLINES PARTY'S GOALS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Prague UCITELSKÉ NOVINY in Czech 19 Aug 82 pp 1, 3, 4

[Speech by Josef Havlin, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, at Pedagogical Days 1982, held on 1-3 July 1982 at Spisska Nova Ves: "Toward Bright Tomorrows"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I gladly accepted the invitation to participate in this exceptionally important gathering devoted to the issues of further increasing the quality and comprehensiveness of the communist upbringing of our youth. I consider it to be absolutely correct, in accordance with the policy of our Communist Party and its program in the area of education, that this wide ranging group of pedagogical employees and functionaries of the state school administration and national committees is concerning itself with the significant provisions of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Resolution entitled "On the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Education System." Certainly it is primarily in your hands, in the hands of our teachers and school system employees that the greatest responsibility has been placed for the comprehensive political and rigorous professional preparation of our youth for life and work under socialism, for preparing them to build and defend all the values of a socialist society.

You all know that in recent years the party Central Committee, its Presidium and Secretariat, and kraj and district national committees have been devoting more attention than before to the entire area of the education of the young generation. This has been the case above all because the entire party has assigned quite basic importance to this area of social endeavor for assuring the tasks in the further development of a mature socialist society. If we follow the development of our educational system, then we see that over time ever greater demands must be placed on specific types and levels of schools and educational facilities, depending on the level of awareness of the qualitative and quantitative needs of specific stages in the building of a mature socialist society. This will result in more comprehensive and precise definitions for these schools, in the merger of now separate secondary school curricula, in a significant increase in the demands on ideologically political education, and in a solid theoretical preparation for graduates of high schools and colleges becoming the basic prerequisite for their rapid adaptation to new conditions. It is important that we be successful in gradually involving the general public in the fulfillment of the tasks of the schools and educational institutions. The results which have been achieved as a consequence of the gradual implemen-

tation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Resolution entitled "On the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Education System" are more than direct proof of how important it is to have long range programs and established stages of their implementation in specific areas of social activity, and how important it is to know precisely what is critical at any given stage, what available resources must be focused on, and how many of these resources are available to achieve the final objectives.

The gradual implementation of this resolution confirms not only its ongoing validity, but above all that it expressed and continues to express convincingly that the education of people is truly a priority area. For this reason, the functions and objectives of these activities during specific stages of our social development must not be established solely according to subjective opinions, nor even according to the current status of these endeavors in the tertiary sphere. Rather, these objectives must above all be related to long term objectives in the development of our socialist society, with an awareness that their fulfillment can provide very effective assistance in the solution to even very serious economic problems. It is here as well that one must seek the answer to why the field of education is receiving such attention from party and state organs. This resolution contains the implication for all of us, for all employees of the educational system, national committees and public organizations, and for all managerial employees, wherever they may work, that we not drag our feet in the fulfillment of these objectives and that we be aware of the time factor, which is inexorable. What we lose through our own fault or the laziness of certain people will never be returned to us. This is the cause of irreplaceable political and material losses.

The gradual implementation in recent years of the tasks outlined in this resolution has also confirmed an additional correct principle, that of the openness of the development plan for our educational system, which the party and state organs have been incorporating systematically into the daily life of our schools. Throughout our educational system we will create sufficient leeway so that steps may be taken in enough time and very prudently to implement essential changes in the content and methodology of the work of the schools, especially as a result of the continuing and intensifying role of science and technology, and to assure that high schools and colleges are just those institutions which will prepare, with the greatest possible lead time, the younger generation for the fulfillment of its public role in the coming years. Then, people who have been thus prepared will be able courageously and with great certainty to set to the resolution of the most complicated problems with nontraditional, completely new and revolutionary techniques and work forms. Only in this way will they be able to fulfill their historical mission of continuers of the construction of a mature socialist society in the coming decades.

Each one of us is well aware that in the coming years there will continue to be very important changes in production programs, in technical equipment and in work technologies about which we can only dream today. We must prepare all young people for these innovations, for anything which may make even modest inroads on their lives. Only a comprehensively prepared and educated employee with a broad political perspective possesses the preconditions for a rapid adaptation to new conditions, to new production approaches.

We must cultivate in our youth a sense of recognition of the links and connections between individual social phenomena, develop in them those abilities necessary for the mastery of the most recent findings in all areas of public activity and their practical application. We must teach them to study conscientiously and productively, and develop in them an interest in education as a value desirable not only for themselves, but also for the entire society. We do not want the quality of education to express a maximum amount of superficially mastered information. Instead, what is critical is that their functional and utilitarian choice be such as to contribute to the further multifaceted development of the young person's personality. In the educational process, it is a matter of what set of knowledge and expertise a pupil gains and how this will be presented and utilized educationally.

In implementing qualitative changes in the education of children and youth we have overcome many obstacles, problems, setbacks and difficulties. Nor will we avoid them in the upcoming years. Much will depend on how everyone who is participating in decisionmaking processes adopts the established educational objectives, the extent to which they recognize and draw practical conclusions from the fact that the field of education is of priority interest to the entire society. This means specific responsibility by pedagogical collectives and school employees, the entire managerial and administrative sphere, including national committees. Everyone must be aware that it is not acceptable to neglect those responsibilities connected with a concern for the future of the next generation, the future caretakers of our country. These are the very people that we must prepare for everything. Nothing will be easier for them than it has been for us, neither in work nor in life. Rather, the reverse is likely to be true. Even under complicated internal and external conditions, we must carry out a magnanimous policy, be very foresighted and continue to value fully the importance of education and qualifications. This means, basically, that the thorough fulfillment of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Resolution On the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Education System is a task for all of us, that this is the fulfillment of the strategy of the Fifteenth CPCZ Congress as applied to education. It is our responsibility to implement creatively both the general and the targeted parts of this resolution, and everyone who works in this area must consider the quality education of future generations as the fulfillment of his own life ideals. We must also be prepared for being evaluated according to how we personally have contributed to the implementation of these immense and at the same time noble objectives.

Esteemed comrades, the great tasks which we face and are fulfilling in our schools and educational institutions are not being implemented in some kind of ideal environment which is independent of what is happening at home and abroad. You in the schools also live the life of the people of this country, and you are not indifferent to the difficulties with which the people in the factories and the fields are struggling. And precisely because you are educating the younger generation for life and work under socialism, and continually giving your support to peace and a peaceful policy, it is essential that in all schools and educational institutions you more conscientiously, succinctly and convincingly impress upon our youth that at this time of gigantic struggle for the CPCZ and for all our workers to implement the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, it is also their greatest task to contribute to the building of a mature socialist

society, to defend their homeland and to contribute, even with miniscule amounts of work, to the strengthening of the unity of the countries of the socialist community. It is important that the school, in all its activities but especially in the systematic cultivation of a globally conscious and moral education, mold an active relationship to daily life in our youth, a clearly class conscious approach to public life which expresses the communist orientation of the personality, a unity of intelligence and will, ideologically moral motivations and qualities which aid the individual in posing new questions to himself, in solving problems which arise, in standing firm in critical situations and in taking responsibility for the quality fulfillment of his responsibilities.

A component of educating young people for the building of socialism and its economic base is also an education in the defense of all the achievements of a socialist society. Socialism and its ideology will be actively and convincingly defended only by those who are in agreement with it and have united their interests with those of the entire society. This is, then, a matter of forming the desired attitudes of young people toward the socialist order.

This task is the more difficult because we still must constantly deal with certain negative phenomena in our society with which young people come in contact, as well as the increasing influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Teachers, parents, pioneer organizations, the Socialist Youth League and other social organizations play an important role in this by demonstrating convincingly and accurately to young people the advantages and problems of a socialist society, by not hiding anything from them at school and in the family, so that socialism and its further development becomes sufficiently attractive to them so that they will be prepared to work for it actively and defend it.

Right at school we must create a situation from which young people will understand that above all it is necessary to work conscientiously and frequently under socialism, that not even socialism is free from conflicts, that even under it there exist people who live or would like to live at the expense of others, and that we must carry out a constant struggle for quality work. But the critical point is that teachers and everyone who comes into contact with youth show them that the vast majority of our people are devoting their energies to the building of socialism, that we have excellent work collectives in all sectors, heroes of labor, and that the people themselves are ruling this country. To move closer to the people and to see them as role models, to emulate them in life should be the main characteristic of the work of schools in the education of the younger generation.

All of our lives, including those of educational system employees, are under systematic pressure from several phenomena toward which we must relate in a manner qualitatively different from any time in the past. These vitally important phenomena include issues of research and development, new technologies and their full utilization in all areas of social activity, in our daily lives. They are phenomena, in other words, which lead to the increasing of our common wealth in the interest of socialism, communism and peace.

While respecting the curricula and fundamentals of individual subjects at whatever level and type of school and while utilizing the great advantages offered by the open character of the programs of the entire educational system, nothing

should prevent us from assuring that an explanation of the significance of scientific technical development as a truly revolutionary task for our entire society become an essential component of professional preparation, politically educational work, education for a class conscious, socialist awareness by pupils and students, and that the newest contributions of science and technology infuse every subject as a matter of course. This is the way teachers must view their own specific and creative approach to our truly modern educational system. It is necessary to show that revolutionary efforts to assert progress in science and technology, to further develop our economic potential by applying the achievements of the scientific technical revolution are closely linked to the struggle of the countries of the socialist community and other progressive forces in the world to preserve peace.

Education in the broadest sense of the term, i.e., both in and out of school, must be conscientiously focused on aiding the younger generation to understand in ever greater complexity the conclusions and tasks of the 16th CPCZ Congress in the assurance of further economic development and the related problems of the application of scientific-technical developments in their economic, political, social and ideological connections. A significant component of the educational process must be education in the creative and initiative-taking pursuit, discovery and development of new research and development findings, education fostering active participation in the actual process of integrating all that is progressive into production and other public practice. Our educational work must, in the future as well, effectively contribute to the development of the will, interests and talents of our youth in the area of scientific and technical creativity and, in conjunction with this, also to the development of abilities to work collectively, to deepen a sense of organization and discipline in the fulfillment of complicated tasks. At the same time, we must constantly bear in mind that these are likewise characteristics which also to a large degree determine the effectiveness with which the younger generation involves itself in daily life.

In our ideologically educational efforts there should be a firm place for an explanation of the class character of scientific and technical development, in close conjunction with a comprehensive and specific explanation of the issues involved in the further continuation of the scientific and technical revolution in today's class-divided world. In this regard it is also necessary to emphasize the importance of the organic link between the achievements of the scientific technical revolution and the advantages of socialism, as well as the conscientious and extensive efforts of the countries of the socialist community to utilize research and development results for further social progress. It is essential to continually inculcate in our younger generation that it is necessary to take a firm stand against the current activities of imperialist circles which are aimed at the misuse of the results of the scientific technical revolution for the preparation of new aggressive wars and a continuation in the arms race, and that the best reply to such a policy is dedicated and untiring work for socialism.

It is, however, necessary to be aware of one more important matter. Educational employees, if they want to be worthy of their responsibility, must be able to utilize the current sharpened international relations to uncover the bases of the aggressive policy of imperialism and to unmask the fabrications of anti-

socialist propaganda concerning a Soviet military threat, must be able to explain convincingly the position of the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist community, and other progressive forces of the world on problems of war and peace. In this regard, then, it is important to explain internationalism as our scientifically proven ideology and a policy combining solidarity with all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces throughout the world, solidarity with all fighters against imperialism, fighters for national independence and for social progress.

When we succeed in inculcating this in the consciousness of our youth, they will then understand that our economic development and the possibilities for an increased standard of living for our people do not remain unscathed by this imperialist attempt. They will understand that imperialism, led by the United States of America, is engaged in a globally coordinated policy consisting of increased expenditures on armaments and a slowing down of cooperation with the socialist countries. Then our youth will also understand that we must actively react against this policy in conjunction with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. And even though external conditions have worsened under imperialist influence, there remain sufficient material and spiritual resources in our country to form a reliable base for a rapid return to a predominantly intensive development path. All efforts which must be put out to this end must be focused on the highest objective--the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the individual, his multifaceted development. The growth in political consciousness, a qualitatively different type of organization, and the concentration of state power in the hands of the working class and the working people are opening to an ever greater extent the path to socialism's peaceful influence on world developments as well as shaping its ability to actively defend itself.

Esteemed comrades, in the context of the international and internal political situation an education in internationalism and socialist patriotism as inseparable components of a globally conscious and communist education has come to the fore in the activities of all our schools and educational institutions. Internationalism and socialist patriotism represent the basic life values of the contemporary person. Adopting these values and living them is an indication of the level of one's socialist consciousness. It expresses the level of responsibility taken for one's life, for the future of his children and of future generations.

An education in internationalism and patriotism is closely linked to an intensification of socialist consciousness, to an education in a scientific world view and citizen responsibilities. It has its own scientifically proven base. It is, however, also closely linked with the emotional life of a person. A given individual is tied internally to a specific country and to certain specific places within it; he is linked with the people of his homeland by language and traditions, and with the entire national culture. From his childhood years, a young person is very receptive to just these cultural values. Often his emotional world and esthetic sensibilities serve as the gate through which there passes into his personality the awareness of an identification with the world of socialism and progress.

Right in school it is necessary to devote considerable attention to an education in socialist collectivism, patriotism and internationalism. It is necessary to increase concern for the mutually connected cultivation of character traits such as honesty, modesty, justice and solidarity. In these educational efforts, sight should not be lost of the principle related to the moral values of socialist man evident in his specific actions every day, in his relationships to other people and to social responsibilities. This principle very closely corresponds as well to the objective and implementation of the United System of Citizen Defense Training, the task of which is to reach a point where every Czechoslovak citizen feels a high level of responsibility for the fate of his socialist homeland, is constantly prepared to stand up in its defense, and to unselfishly fight for its freedom and independence, for the victory of communism.

We therefore consider it appropriate to devote ongoing attention to education in a defensive outlook in the broad sense of the term. We do not mean by this the mere mastery of specific information on the subject of defense education, but understand by this above all the formation of the young person at the morally political, psychological and physical levels. Our efforts must also be devoted to the cultivation of a proper relationship to the socialist army and an increase in its social prestige. This then must be conscientiously utilized in orienting pupils to the military as a profession.

Defense education is closely tied to a globally conscious education. An important role is played here particularly by the basic postulates of the Marxist-Leninist theory of war, peace and peaceful coexistence. Our socialist defense education pursues above all a central political goal, the prevention of war. Defense education, understood in a class sense within the framework of communist education is not in conflict with the noble focus of this education on peace and peaceful coexistence. It is, however, and justifiably so, in conflict with pacifist illusions that in this world full of military technology and aggressive plans it is possible to make do with simply a longing for peace without a struggle for peace.

We also make no secret of the fact that we are not building socialism in order to allow the results of the work of preceeding generations and the results of our work to be taken from us easily. We are also preparing comprehensively together with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact to defend ourselves against imperialist aggression. We are building a defense system for the state, and the outcome of educational work in the sense of morally political, educated and scientific poser and commitment has an important role to play it.

Esteemed comrades, why is it right here, on the occasion of Pedagogical Days at Spisska Nova Ves, that I am returning to the basic postulates of the well-known resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium? I am doing so above all so that all employees of our educational system and as much of the general public as possible again realizes that it has been and continues to be the CPCZ that has had and continues to have in the first place on its agenda concern for the person, for the comprehensive satisfaction of his needs. We are obligated not to be lax in explaining the functions and tasks which we have in this area. Our objective must be that this truly enlightened task be taken over

from us and adopted by the widest possible public, so that there is not a single managerial economic or public sector employee in this country who would not agree with such a well-considered policy and who would not become involved in its implementation.

We are not idealists. We do not think that everything we announce or on which party or state organs reach agreement will be comprehended immediately by people, that they will immediately applaud us, or be amazed at how wise we are and at how well we are taking care of everything. We all know that actual life is a bit more complex. Our people also have other concerns. Some are of greater interest to them, some less. Obviously people think and are capable of evaluating our work and often also perceive those areas to which we attach great importance. And we have no illusions that the public interest is always given priority over the interests of individuals, over private interests. All of this, and a number of other contradictions, exist in socialism. Not to see them means not to know life, means to remove oneself from the problems of our people, from the life of society.

This is why it is so important that our programs not be discussed in the school system only in the abstract, generally and with an emphasis on the theoretical underpinnings. It is necessary on an ongoing, daily basis to discuss these issues concretely, to explain them very understandably and convincingly. We must point out results which have been achieved, that we are proceeding on the correct path, that we cannot return to that which has passed by. Through precise daily work at schools and in public, we must prove that we have understood the objective of party policy, that we have mastered everything, that we will handle the problem at hand, that we will consider party policy from a professional viewpoint as our own and that on this basis we will proceed to educate the children who have been entrusted to us, that we will not cast doubt upon anything that is living, that has a positive relationship to the world and which brings us greater pleasure each year.

A glance at the work which has been performed by teachers, masters of professional education, tutors, and all educational system employees in forming the attitudes of our younger generation for life, work and the preservation of our socialist homeland justify us in stating that we are successfully, on the whole, fulfilling the tasks in this area.

This is the base on which we can undertake future, much more demanding tasks.

If we teach our youth to respect the results of the work performed by previous generations, and if we lead them to a respect for the revolutionary and progressive traditions of the Communist Party, the working class, and all the people, to a respect for our spiritual and material culture, and if we teach them to link love for their country with a broader perspective which we have in the family of the socialist community, and to link patriotism with proletarian internationalism, if we can be sure of a bright tomorrow for our youth and the communist future of our country.

To guide our youth in this way, to cultivate in them these noble moral values is a task for whose fulfillment we should not begrudge our abilities, strength, time or resources.

Allow me to wish you much success in your discussions. I am convinced that Pedagogical Days in Spasska Nova Ves will become a significant contribution to the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 16th Congress of our party in the area of the educational system. Likewise, I would like to express the thanks of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and especially its general secretary, Comrade Gustav Husak to all pedagogical and educational system employees for everything which they have and will in the future contribute to the socialist and communist education of the young generation, to the flowering of our homeland, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

9276

CSO: 2400/383

REGIONAL PAPER DISCUSSES TROUBLE WITH GYPSIES

Ostrava NOVA SVOBODA in Czech 10 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by NS: "Need for Strict Control"]

[Text] It is a Saturday afternoon during vacation time. Many people have left for the mountains or lakes and rivers. However, in the center of Ostrava there is the usual activity. Groups of men, women and children hang out in Zamecka and Puchmajerova streets. They shout at one another, bother the passers-by and offer Tuzex vouchers for sale.

It is almost 10 oclock. A rapid security action starts, aimed at the illegal sale of Tuzex vouchers, foreign currency and assorted merchandise. Within 15 minutes the rooms of the Ostrava 1 District Department of the SNB [National Security Corps] are full of citizens, primarily of Gypsy origin, arrested on suspicion of illegal street sales. For members of the city directorate of the SNB, it is the beginning of demanding and tedious work.

"I am here every day. I did not do anything wrong," protests a Gypsy woman. "I have no money." The female investigator finds out that the woman carries 220 Tuzex vouchers and Kcs 1,340 in cash. "Where did you get the Tuzex vouchers?" "From my grandmother." "Where did she get them?" "From uncle in America." "Why do you keep them?" "I wanted to buy a sweater." "To whom do you sell these vouchers?" "To anybody." "For how much do you sell a voucher?" "For Kcs 5," she betrays herself.

"I only went out to shop," says another woman. She has with her Kcs 1,550 in cash. She has no job. On her fingers are several gold rings. "Where did you get this gold?" "From my uncle in America."

The next woman brought in by the police also does not work. She lives with her boyfriend who makes Kcs 2,000 a month. In her pocketbook she carries two new 5,000 banknotes. "How many children do you have?" "Three." "Why don't you take care of them? From morning until dusk you can be seen in front of the 'Korzo.'" "I am there with other Gypsies. You know how it is. Families must stick together."

A 17-year able-bodied girl also gets money from America. "Where do you work?" "I don't." "Who feeds you?" "My parents." "How much do they make?" "They are retired and they get Kcs 1,350 in social security." "Why don't you work?" "I must take care of them."

"Oh, we know each other, you were brought here several times in the past, weren't you?" says the female investigator to another Gypsy woman. The Gypsy nods. "Where do you work?" "I am on a disability pension," answers a 22-year old woman with gold earrings and chain.

A nicely dressed and well-groomed Gypsy woman enters the room. She behaves properly. She is the only one whose ID card is in order, who works and takes care of her children. She agrees with police actions of this kind even if it is not easy for her to say so. "The others embarrass us. It bothers me very much."

Among those who were brought in is a 34-year-old Gypsy woman from Prerov. She has received several court sentences in the past and her ID card contains a stamp forbidding her to stay in Prague or Brno. She has come to Ostrava to shop. However, she has no money on her. "I will get money from the family." "Where do you work?" "I am a housewife with 10 children and an 11th on the way." "How much does your husband make?" "Five thousand." "Where does he work?" "I don't know and don't care. The main thing is that he brings money home. But I am not involved in buying and selling. The others sell vouchers and watches." "Who are 'the others'?" "Well, the others."

It goes on and on. The same old answers. Almost all 30 men and women who were brought in get vouchers and gold from grandmothers who in turn received them from uncles in America. They are not engaged in buying and selling. This is done by the others. However, their wallets, pockets and bags are filled with 100 Kcs banknotes. None of them works; many are on disability pension even if they have barely reached their 20th birthday and look very healthy.

The situation existing in Ostrava has required many similar SNB actions in the past. It is almost certain that such actions will be repeated as long as we do not eliminate the causes of this situation in more drastic ways than before.

There are citizens of Gypsy origin who have regular jobs and take good care of their children. We must separate from them those Gypsies (very well organized) who refuse to accept the conditions of life in our society. It suffices to take a look at the conditions of the apartments below Premyslovic St in Ostrava-Mariánské Hory. It would be interesting to find out who pays for the damage in these desolate apartments and facilities. For almost a half year we have seen broken windows facing the street.

The Gypsy problem in Ostrava requires drastic solution and certainly those who have repeatedly committed criminal acts, all kinds of notorious middlemen, and others who do not want to live a normal and honest life, should leave the city. It would certainly be proper to draw up and implement the necessary measures for the solution of the Gypsy problem in Ostrava in order to implement better the principles which are still valid.

1277

CSO: 2400/1

HERMLIN ON HIS 'CRIMINALS' CHARGE AGAINST FORMER FELLOW DISSIDENTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 21 Sep 82 p 8

[Interview with GDR writer Stephan Hermlin by Harald Kleinschmid: "Quoted Verbatim: He is a Falsifier." A translation of another Kleinschmid interview with the same writer is published under the heading, "Dissident Writer Hermlin Interviewed on Unofficial GDR Peace Movement," in JPRS 81738, 10 Sep 82, No 2054 of this series, pp 40-45]

[Text] GDR writer Stephan Hermlin declared in an interview he sent to the Deutschlandfunk on 17 September 1982, that he had not collectively labeled former colleagues who had moved to the West as "criminals." The interview, in which Hermlin also deals with his relationship with the Writers Union (VS) which is part of the Printers Union, was conducted by Harald Kleinschmid. The following is verbatim:

[Question] Stephan Hermlin, a nasty word was used, the word "criminals." To be more precise, the public here has gained the impression that you had called writers who left, or had to leave, the GDR criminals and that with this reference you cancelled your attendance at a literary meeting in Marburg. What do you have to say to that?

[Answer] Of course I did not do that; I did not collectively call writers who left the GDR criminals. I refused the invitation to Marburg because I had learned that two people would be there whose talent, in my view, lies more in the field of criminality than in literature. I know what I am talking about. One, whom I don't even know, with whom I have never even exchanged a word, has been slandering me for over 20 years, for reasons unknown to me. As you can see, I have survived that. The other, some time ago, sent letters with my forged signature, not to mention other activities. It might be of interest in this context that neither of them has ever seen the inside of a GDR jail

The names mentioned in connection with my refusal to go to Marburg have absolutely nothing to do with the matter, neither Kunze nor Loest, neither Biermann nor Matthies nor Fuchs nor anybody else. A journalist for STERN, who called me, mentioned those names later on, although I had told him that

the word I used only referred to two people. He is a falsifier. Among the writers who emigrated from the GDR are people who are close to me, whom I stand by as they have stood by me in the past. I mention Guenter Kunert, Thomas Brasch, Jurek Becker. They, and others, know that I have always defended them when they were attacked. It is a grotesque idea that I might now label them criminals. Perhaps it should be up to some younger people, who are now living in the Federal Republic [of German], for whom I exerted myself, whose books with their friendly and respectful dedications I have around me, to protect me from an evil campaign.

[Question] Nevertheless, Stephan Hermlin, the use of the word "criminal" is risky. Already, there are open letters to you from former political prisoners from the GDR who feel discriminated against by your remarks about criminals.

[Answer] At no time, in no country, have I considered political prisoners to be criminals. You see, with regard to writers or artists in general, I am an international vice president of PEN, I know my duties and act accordingly, according to those duties. From this activity alone it is clear that I have never identified political prisoners as criminals, or shall we say, I have never mistaken political prisoners for criminals.

[Question] Another accusation leveled against you and your colleague, Hermann Kant, president of the GDR Writers Union, is that, at your request, writers formerly residing in the GDR and now living in the Federal Republic, are kept away or excluded from meetings of the FRG Writers Union (VS). In this context, your influence on the VS president, Bernt Engelmann, is also mentioned.

[Answer] I think this accusation is grotesque because, as is known, a number of writers who formerly lived in the GDR and are now living in the Federal Republic were invited to, and attended, the "Berlin encounter," which started this whole development. The same held true at The Hague, a meeting on which I had no influence at all, since it had been jointly organized by the VS and Dutch writers. Insofar as the Cologne meeting is concerned, I was a guest and had no say in it, and did not even try. It was not my affair, I was one guest among many. I have no right to judge the internal affairs of the VS. But I shall stand up for Bernt Engelmann if he is under attack, because he sat down with my friend Hermann Kant and myself in order to help prevent great dangers. No observer can miss [the fact] that whenever politicians from both Germanys make efforts to improve the climate, certain writers and journalists strain to drive matters in the opposite direction.

[Question] Reiner Kunze has asked the question to what extent the "Berlin encounter" initiated by you has produced "peace above truth."

[Answer] I myself have read Reiner Kunze's opinion that there had been an attempt to establish peace above truth. I consider that erroneous. Just as I considered, and continue to consider, as wrong the old slogan of "peace in freedom." If I were to talk with Kunze about what truth is, we would probably not come to an agreement. And the same holds true for the idea of freedom.

But we must have peace so that we can continue to have different opinions about truth and freedom. The most important aspect of the whole affair is not the opinion of this or that person, but the fact that some journalists don't want to miss the train. A countermovement to the peace movement has arisen. One would not like to be too late, if things change. In your country, there seems to be an upcoming change of government. Therefore, the tendency towards harsher tones.

[Question] Do you continue to be of the opinion that writers' encounters of a political content are meaningful?

[Answer] I consider them necessary, useful, but not earthshaking. Whoever considers them necessary should participate, whoever is indifferent to them, should not go.

9917

CSO: 2300/5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MISTREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN GDR REPORTED

Interview With Former Prisoner

Bonn DIE WELT in German 9 Sep 82 p 7

[Text of Deutschlandfunk interview with former female prisoner in the GDR, broadcast on Tuesday morning, 7 Sep 82: "'Psychological Harassment More Than Enough'--A GDR Prisoner Reports: Political Prisoners Treated Like Murderers--Work for Exports to the West"]

[Text] [Question] Let us now turn to the situation in GDR prisons. I am greeting a woman on the telephone who had to spend several years in a GDR prison for fleeing the republic and who was recently able to move to the FRG.

At present about 5,000 Germans are incarcerated in GDR prisons for political reasons. Can it be said that these prisoners are able to live in a fairly tolerable manner?

[Answer] Yes, the prisoners can live in a fairly tolerable manner.

[Question] During your imprisonment did you yourself, for example, ever have to go through the experience of being abused?

[Answer] I myself never heard from those trying to flee the republic, but I did hear from the other prisoners--that was in the eastern bloc country next to my cell--that somebody was beaten up. And during that, the ventilator was even turned on so as not to be heard, but after all the ventilators cannot be turned on simultaneously in all cells.

[Question] Please tell us how the food was. Were there adequately hot meals?

[Answer] Yes, it depends totally on where you are imprisoned. In foreign countries it was nothing special. In the GDR itself there were hot meals, but they were very low in vitamins and very low in protein.

[Question] But in the GDR hunger is not part of the punishment?

[Answer] NO.

[Question] There is repeatedly talk of the fact that prisoners get damp bread. Did you experience that?

[Answer] Yes, that is correct.

[Question] Did that have any special effect on your body?

[Answer] Yes, you notice that you get bloated. I myself retained a great deal of water and I also heard of it in the case of others.

[Question] You should tell us what kind of work you had to do during your imprisonment. What did you have to do?

[Answer] I personally worked three shifts. I sat at the sewing machine, I sewed bed linen for Quelle, where the norms were really high. You really had to exert yourself in order to do the work, in order to receive a little money to afford a few things then, for example, cigarettes. If you are a smoker then it is very difficult, then you would really like to smoke.

[Question] And you were subject to special work norms?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] And you worked for a West German company?

[Answer] Yes, for Quelle.

[Question] And you received money and were able to buy yourself not only cigarettes; what else were you able to buy?

[Answer] If it was available, you could buy fruit, you could buy cosmetics. Now and then it was also possible that you could afford underwear. Sweets, cigarettes. But, as I said, that depended entirely on what there was to buy and how much money you received.

[Question] How were the hygiene conditions?

[Answer] They varied too. It depended on where you were quartered. In foreign countries I had to wash in front of men, naturally you could not undress. And in the GDR itself--you could of course wash, but when I went Hohnbeck, everything there was dirty. But it was O.K. after the renovations.

[Question] Was there really any kind of harassment, too, or disciplinary measures? One hears of this kind of thing everywhere.

[Answer] Yes, there was psychological harassment, more than enough, maybe it was only a letter which was not sent out because you had made a mistake in writing or had underlined something. Then perhaps after 4 or 8 weeks you found out that the letter had not gone out. Or you did not get any letters yourself. Or you were moved to another command unit. If for example you

got along well with a refugee from the republic, it often happened that you were simply moved.

[Question] How many of you were there in one cell?

[Answer] Some 12 people, but there were also cells with 24 and 28 beds.

[Question] And most of the people that you were with were...because of the same crime?

[Answer] No. I personally was put together with very many murderers and we, that is the refugees from the republic, were all evenly distributed so that under no circumstance would we be able perhaps to get along well in one cell. We were put with criminals and asocial people so as not to isolate ourselves. That was evenly distributed into command units.

[Question] Did that involve any special tactic, any special strategy?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] You were just speaking of contacts with the outside. Were there contacts with the outside, as much as you wanted to have, with letters?

[Answer] No, that was not the situation. You were allowed to write only three times a month. If somebody wanted to write to his attorney, he had to make an application, the letter had to be handed in unsealed; then it was still subject to correction.

[Question] How was the medical care?

[Answer] It varied quite a bit. Many applied to the doctor but were not summoned for 4 to 8 weeks. Others were sent over in the next few days, so it varied quite a bit. There was no rule.

[Question] In how many GDR prisons were you actually?

[Answer] In one GDR prison.

[Question] In your opinion what was the worst thing that you had to experience?

[Answer] Yes, the worst thing for me was the psychological terror, this subliminal psychological terror on the part of the police. They act as if there is nothing, but everywhere there are corner points. Repeatedly they try to depress us and to humiliate us. I think it would go too far if I were to go into all that here in detail now.

[Question] Were there also positive things, were there, for example, friendships among the prisoners?

[Answer] Yes, there were friendships. You could only establish a friendship in the command unit. If you had friendships, that is, contacts with the other command unit, then it could happen that you were moved so that you did not see each other any longer. The police paid very close attention to making sure that you did not talk with other command units.

Amnesty International Information

Bonn DIE WELT in German 9 Sep 82 p 7

['Background' report by Istvan Sandor; "Date, Facts About Interment Procedure"]

[Text] According to statistics from Amnesty International (ai) there are 4,500 to 5,000 political prisoners in approximately 30 prisons in the GDR and East Berlin. Some 70 percent of these prisoners are under 28 years of age. Of these 60 percent are of the social structure from the workers and farmers class, thus "children of the proletariat." Some 45 percent of all political prisoners come from families of GDR functionaries. The main share of all these prisoners was sentenced according to the GDR criminal statute because of the so-called "fleeing the republic" or related punishable acts. Since 13 August 1961 alone over 55,000 people have been sentenced because of the offenses. These and the following statistics are based on inquiries by ai and the "13 August Task Force."

An essential component in "socialist reeducation" in the GDR's prisons is the production process. In almost all prisons work is done on the three-shift system, even in the women's prisons. In youth detention centers, in which there even youths under 16 years of age who were sentenced for political reasons, the two-shift system of work is predominant.

For the rulers in East Berlin the economic factor of the production sites which are attached to the prisons--in part integrated into the prisons--is of enormous importance. Some 65 percent of the goods produced there end up in exports to the West.

Thus, in Brandenburg prison electronic components are manufactured for the VEB Carl von Ossietzki Works. In Brandenburg prison mainly kitchen equipment and kitchen furniture are also produced for the VEB Wood Processing Works for department stores in the FRG. In Cottbus prison camera bodies are manufactured for the VEB Pentacon Works, Dresden.

In the prominent Bautzen II prison mainly switching devices of the highest quality for the shipbuilding industry are produced for the VEB Oppach Works. In Brannenburg prison relays for machine tools and refrigerators and fluorescent and incandescent bulbs are produced mainly for export to the West via the Treptow Works (Berlin) and the VEB Relog Works.

The real pay of the prisoners is two-thirds less than the normal wages for skilled workers in the GDR. Accident prevention conditions are not in

accordance with the prescribed norms in all production shops. Hundreds of instances are known in which prisoners in the GDR, because of the pressure of the norms, removed accident prevention devices from the equipment, with the silent assent of the supervisory personnel, and thus had accidents.

The legal situation of prisoners in the GDR--and mainly this applies especially to the political prisoners--rests exclusively on "can regulations."

The prisoner "can" receive mail, he "can" have visitors, he "can" receive packages, he "can" be granted home-leave, he "can" shop in the sales locations which are under the control of the prisons and operate at a great profit.

FRG Bundestag Committee Hearings

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 9 Sep 82 p 6

[DPA report from Bonn: "Treated 'Like Scum'--Former GDR Prisoners Provide Information to a Bundestag Committee"]

[Text] The experiences of political prisoners in GDR prisons were the subject of a hearing by the Bundestag's Inner-German Affairs committee on Wednesday. Ten former "political prisoners," including two women, in describing their experiences after being arrested, referred in almost total agreement to attempts at threats and extortion on the part of the interrogators and to the enormous mental pressure while serving their sentences. Mainly they complained that they had never been given a copy of the GDR penal code and that the attorneys had not given an opinion on the actual charge. An engineer who comes from Jena said: "In the GDR it is a farce to have an attorney."

He and his wife had been arrested in May 1979 by the State Security Service for so-called subversive establishment of contacts. As the couple reported, since 1976 they had repeatedly made applications for exit to the West and in the process had tried, via relatives in the FRG, to establish contact with the action group "Cry for Help from Over There" of ZDF's [Second German Television Program] magazine moderator Gerhard Loewenthal. However, appropriate letters were discovered by the GDR State Security Service.

In regard to her confinement in Bautzen the 37-year old wife reported that GDR prisoners were treated "like scum" while at the same time a relatively businesslike and polite posture was adopted in respect to FRG citizens who were serving sentences there. Apart from the inferior food and harsh working conditions she said the "worst factor" was the moral pressure. The political prisoners never received a glimmer of hope of being permitted to leave the country some day for the FRG, rather they were told that they had to serve their full sentence and then would have to start "from the very bottom" again in the GDR.

According to the reports of the former prisoners the first interrogations after arrest last up to 24 hours. A physical education teacher from East Berlin, who had been put behind bars because of "subversive agitation,"

said that to be sure he had never been beaten, but on the other hand he had experienced a whole range of threats and extortion attempts. Thus, he had been told that if he answered all questions he could keep his fiancée out of jail. Later he learned that his fiancée likewise had been imprisoned. About his confinement in Brandenburg prison he reported that the food between 1977 and 1979 had actually been adequate, but low in vitamins. Before that there had been the purest "swill." After 1979 the food once again had gotten worse.

The former prisoners overwhelmingly judged the medical care negatively. The wife of the engineer from Jena declared that her treatment in connection with an essential gall bladder operation in a prison hospital near Leipzig in itself was "worth a charge before the United Nations." To be sure the operation had been done by physicians, but only prisoners had been utilized for pre- and postoperative care.

In response to the committee's question whether in the GDR imprisonment can be changed into a fine, reference was made to the case of a "well-to-do" woman who had received a M10,000 fine after 3 months of investigative arrest.

Thanks to the efforts in Bonn, according to unofficial estimates almost 600 political prisoners have come to the FRG in the first half-year of 1982 via the ransom route. Since 1970 the number is said to have been over 11,000 in all. The hearing, which in the opinion of the SPD/FDP majority of the committee should not have been held publicly in the interest of those concerned, was part of the discussion of a CDU/CSU motion about the situation of political prisoners in the GDR; in this connection, in the interest of human rights, an initiative before the Council of Europe or the United Nations is being weighed.

13135

CSO: 2300/415

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NAVAL TRAINING AT KARL LIEBKNECHT OFFICERS' COLLEGE OUTLINED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1982 (signed to press 16 Jul 82)
pp 230-232

['MT Introduces' feature article by Navy Capt L. Zaehler, commandant, Naval Officer Department: "Karl Liebknecht Officers' College of the People's Navy, Naval Officer Department"]

[Text] The Naval Officer Department of the "Karl Liebknecht" People's Navy's Officer College turns out communist-educated and highly-specialized naval officers who are in a position to accomplish the class mission of the Tenth SED Congress. During their subsequent sea duty they will be active as military leaders and educators, as instructors and specialists.

In the course of the training process, this task creates high requirements for the leading personnel and the training officers of the section but also for the performance capacity and the performance determination of the future officers.

The aggressive endeavors springing from imperialism, its high-gear armament policy, and the attendant danger of a nuclear inferno require the training officers and the officer students to pursue new ways. In their training effort they therefore also clearly bring out the practical implementation of the words of our minister of national defense: "Weeks and months or even years of tough duty full of hardships and separation from the family are better than a single hour of war!"(1); at the same time they combine this idea with the beautiful aspects of the sailor's life.

In wartime after all "there is no dress rehearsal, such as they have in the theater, where one can experiment and practice before the curtain goes up. In war there is no rough draft which one can then copy clean or tear up. In war everything is written with blood, everything from the beginning to the end, from the first stroke of the pen to the last period."(2)

The naval officers who must be trained at the officer college of the People's Navy must meet this high requirement through their Marxist-Leninist ideology, their character, and their behavior, but also their experiences, knowledge, abilities, and skills.

The development of theoretical and practical training follows this requirement. In a continuing, dialectically subdivided process, the officer students are guided toward homework and diploma work and toward the main examination through planned and organized training high points such as:

Practical exercise for platoon leaders, shipboard training on combat vessels, practical training within the fleet, participation in the ceremonial parade, the "Baltic Sea, North Sea" training program and the "Grand Cruise" training program.

An inherent component of this development process is the effort to enable the officer students to do independent scientific work. For this purpose, we use the manifold possibilities available for the involvement of the officer students in the scientific work of the various academic departments, their cooperation in the existing six scientific officer school clubs, participation in innovator work, etc.

Following his appointment to the rank of lieutenant, the naval officer acquires the grade of "college-level engineer." The graduation exercises, with the participation of the deputy of the minister and chief of the People's Navy on Lenin Square in Stralsund, which is so rich in traditions, is an unforgettable event not only for the "brand-new" lieutenant but also for his family and the population of the city of Stralsund.

In this development process, communist education and technical qualification constitute a dialectical unit. To accomplish these tasks, the Naval Officer Department has that "golden body" of cadres who are distinguished by their communist convictions, their high level of technical knowledge and ability, and their commitment in individual work with the officer students. They guarantee that naval officers will be trained also in the future and that they will be able to win victory in combat.

The department has modern office facilities and trainer systems for tactical, weapons, navigation, and seamanship as well as radio training. They make it possible with rising intensity and effectiveness to attain the objectives for the development of future naval officers on a high skill level.

The criteria for education and training in the naval officer department consist of the requirements of modern military affairs, the requirements encountered in naval action. The character of modern naval action, which keeps changing in the course of the revolution in military affairs, objectively justifies the high requirements which must be leveled against a naval officer. Neither the high level of dynamics of actual operations, nor the resultant fast situation changes, nor the massive employment of weapons, nor the comprehensive employment of radio and electronic warfare must have any effect on the reaction capacity of a socialist naval officer.

He can meet these requirements only if he has a solid basic socialist conviction, political maturity, and a high level of class consciousness. He must be loyally devoted to the party and he must be distinguished by comprehensive technical knowledge, conscious military discipline, and exemplary action readiness. This enables him as individual leader to form fighting groups ready and able to accomplish the military class mission.

The naval officer with his Marxist-Leninist education, the naval officer who is trained in military science, in military technology, and in general sciences, has manifold and well-developed abilities and skills. He is ready and able to master the growing requirements arising in combat, he can effectively lead political work, and he is able effectively to use complicated equipment and weapons to win victory;

Theoretical Training for Naval Officers

The young man starts his training at the "Karl Liebknecht" Officer College of the People's Navy:

After completing vocational training with final exams,

After taking the final exam and a subsequent period of one year of vocational training or

After completion of vocational training and a college preparatory course.

On the basis of profound, social-science training, comprehensive mathematical, natural-science, and engineering-technical basic education as well as foreign-language instruction, the Naval Officer Department in particular imparts that knowledge, those abilities and skills which will mark the future officer as a seaman, as a weapons specialist, and as a tactician.

The essential goal of seamanship and navigator training is to enable the future naval officers to command combat vessels and boats as officer of the watch or as the captain himself. The officer student learns the fundamentals of navigation, dead-reckoning navigation, as well as the types of ship location determination according to land, radio, and astronomic position lines. At the same time he learns the methods and procedures for navigation backup support for weapons employment, the effect of meteorological and oceanological factors on ship command, as well as the technical systems used in navigation (course, cruising, fathometer, automatic control, and automatic dead-reckoning as well as radio navigation systems).

Instruction in naval warfare history imparts knowledge on the historical development of the various fleets and on naval warfare actions in the past. The officer student is enabled to evaluate these actions from the class viewpoint and to derive conclusions from that regarding his future activity.

The military-geographic study of vast areas broaden his insight into the influence of the geographic environment on the combat operations of naval forces. Besides, the future officer is familiarized with national and international legal standards. In this way we create the prerequisites for enabling the officer of the People's Navy worthily to represent the GDR on the high seas, in international waters, and in the ports of friendly countries.

Communications and radio training gives the officer students basic knowledge, abilities, and skills for the use of communications and radio equipment. Duty assignments as watch officers on combat vessels and boats of the People's

Navy require the officer student to acquire skills in the use of semaphors, blinker signalling, and flag signalling, to handle coding and decoding equipment, and to be able to use radio, radar, and hydroacoustic equipment or to operate certain systems. Cooperation within the context of the allied Baltic Sea fleets means that voice radio operations must be mastered in the Russian language.

During weapons training, the officer student acquires fundamental knowledge on rockets, artillery, ASW, mine, mine defense, and torpedo armament. In addition he acquires comprehensive special knowledge on certain weapons systems depending upon his subsequent assignments in the fleet.

Theoretical training covers the structure and operating procedure of the weapon as well as the fundamentals of its combat use. During subsequent practical training--which at the same time represents the high point of weapons training--the officer student acquires skills and abilities needed for the combat employment of the weapons systems, for the conduct of combat training and for the organization of maintenance.

During tactical training, the officer students are enabled to judge a specifically outlined situation and then to act on the basis of a specific combat assignment. They learn how enemy and friendly forces, their weapons and combat equipment, as well as the operational area are to be evaluated quantitatively and qualitatively. After that they must be ready to justify the decisions they made for a certain maneuver that is to be carried out or for the use of weapons and technical combat equipment.

Training is administered mostly in the form of group exercises and training at command posts and command stations. Here the officer students take over various duty positions.

Practical Training for Naval Officers

A particularly important point during the development process for young naval officers consists of practical shipboard training. This is being done both on combat vessels and on a training vessel. Since 1976, the "Karl Liebknecht" Officer College of the People's Navy has had a modern motor training vessel, the "Wilhelm Pieck." On that vessel, the seamanship and navigation knowledge, abilities, and skills of the students are developed in depth and knowledge regarding military and military-technical problems is consolidated and supplemented. For shipboard training, the "Wilhelm Pieck" either remains in the coastal waters of the GDR or it sails to remote maritime areas. During that time, the officer students perfect not only their technical knowledge. During shore leave in Soviet and Polish ports--such as Leningrad, Riga, Tallinn, Murmansk, Gdansk, Gdynia, and others--they experience arms comradeship in action. It is above all the meetings with Soviet comrades that help develop the internationalist attitude toward the Soviet Union further.

The "Grand Cruise" training phase on the training vessel either leads on a northern route to Murmansk (7,000 nautical miles) or on a southern route to parts of the Mediterranean and Black Sea (10,000 nautical miles).

"Wilhelm Pieck" has covered the run to Murmansk already several times. Sailing the Baltic Sea narrows, along the heavily cut Norwegian coast, past Europe's northernmost point, the North Cape, we reach the ice-free port in the northern part of the USSR. The cordial meetings with the Soviet comrades-in-arms, with the Soviet citizens, the polar day and many others have become lasting experiences for our officer students.

The southern route runs through the North Sea, the Channel, the "stormy" Bay of Biscay, past the Rock of Gibraltar, through the Mediterranean, the Aegean, the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, the Bosphorus, to the heroic city of Sevastopol. The meetings with the soldiers and citizens of that city, the visit to museums and memorials--all of this gives us an unforgettable impression of the heroic struggle of the defenders of Sevastopol. The stay in this city, the visit to Constanta, Varna, or Split lastingly influence the internationalist attitude of our officer students.

To pay tribute to the great achievements during the cruises to remote maritime regions, during combat service, and combat training at sea, the "Grand Cruise" badge was introduced on orders from the minister of national defense and our officer students now wear it proudly.

The training concept for training on training vessels here follows the remark by the supreme commander of the Soviet Fleet, Fleet Adm S. G. Gorshkov: "Anyone who does not know how to sail on the seas cannot learn successfully to conduct combat operations either." (3)

Tough, demanding, but beautiful duty awaits the graduates of the "Karl Liebknecht" Officer College of the People's Navy once they are assigned to duty with the fleet. They are members of those generations who defend the achievements of the working class with weapon in hand and who protect these achievements against all attacks from imperialism. They know "that the class struggle in the international arena, the growing aggressiveness and the growing military potential of imperialism, which keeps increasing as a result of the arms race, as well as the technical and organizational and ideological perfection of its forces confront us with complicated tasks." (4)

But they also know that the officer faces "very comprehensive requirements as a result of the advance of the community of socialist states and our defense coalition, as a result of the economic and social development processes in the GDR, as a result of the scientific-technical revolution, and the revolution in military affairs." (5)

From this we derive the high demand for educating further generations of young fighters in the spirit of the working class and enabling them to accomplish the task for the protection of socialism on an all-around basis. This is the only way we can continue the course of the primary mission in peace as confirmed by the Tenth Party Congress of the SED.

We set ourselves the task of preparing the future officers of the People's Navy on an all-around basis and we consider that to be our partisan contribution as commanders, training officers, and specialists in the Naval Officer Department.

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USO: 2300/13

DAILY SURVEYS WORKERS ON EVENTS OF PAST 2 YEARS

Events Since Martial Law

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 26 Aug 82 pp 1, 5

[Poll prepared by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz and opinions collected by Joanna Leszczynska and Anna Witkowska]

[Text] What has occurred in Poland since the imposition of martial law? What positive or negative changes have taken place? How do you assess policy from January to August 1982? These are the questions which were addressed by SZTANDAR MLODYCH to young people in some large plants in the capital. Here is what they answered.

Bogdan Ladna, vice chairman of the Plant Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] in the M. Nowotko Mechanical works: "Contrary to fears that there would be no job openings in plants as soon as the reform was introduced, there is a lack of manpower, and the labor market in the capital cannot supply it. The initial problems of coproduction and supplies have been alleviated considerably. In our plant we are coping somehow, but we are vexed by many 'outside' problems. For example, what is happening in the food industry? While from February to June the food supplies were adequate, in July, and especially in August, meat buying became a major problem. We are greatly surprised by the high prices of vegetables and fruits, and we regard them as some kind of a mistake. It is a mistake because the purchase prices, which are low, increase horrendously in [retail] sale, while the growers have no market.

"I don't understand--contrary to many 'explanations'--why there is a constant shortage of clothing and shoes. The plants, to be sure, have not stopped producing! Also, many problems still remain to be solved, e.g., in administration--[its] efficient operation, particularly in the area of economy. The pay scale, set according to the hazards of jobs, should be regulated as soon as possible. The pay should be a compensation for the work, which today in many cases does not correspond to reality. Also, youth apartment cooperatives, so widely publicized, have been wrestling with problems to this day. One of these problems is, for example, that of location--which probably could be solved more expediently.

"The campaign against black market operations, too, for the time being at least, has consisted of words rather than deeds. Likewise, the strict discipline of the initial phase of the martial law (the strict regulations of the martial law decree) for some time now, in my opinion, has slackened considerably. For example, intoxicated persons in the streets are a common sight.

"The OKON [Citizens' Committees for National Salvation], contrary to their intentions, have not enlisted [the support of] broad masses of our society, and particularly of our youth. This is related to the fact that functions in these committees are assumed by retirement-age people, who do not have up-to-date knowledge of social problems.

"As I understand it, social accord should be implemented in a broadly conceived sphere of aspirations to improve our society's living conditions, through popularization of the principles of socialist democracy, and treatment of all people according to the same standards and laws. Openness of decision-making, as well as frank and broad consultation, can determine the credibility of the intentions of the authorities. The middle echelons of the administration have frustrated many initiatives, thus failing to bridge the gap between our society and its representative bodies. The way to achieve stabilization is through an objective discussion which can even represent differing views, and through an admission that all of us may be right."

Stefan Bujalski, heat treatment foreman in the M. Nowotko Mechanical Works:
"I believe that it is still too early to speak about any kind of changes. This, indeed, is just a beginning. Well, so what, we continue to notice a decrease in production, because there are difficulties in obtaining basic raw materials for plants (including our plant). There is a continuing lack of job motivation. Likewise, we have not stopped inflation--shelves are bare, there is a lack of goods--so why should we wear ourselves out with work?

"The economic reform? Time will tell whether it has been a success or not. What is important is the fact that economics, and not production quotas, are taken into consideration as of today. In our economic situation, there is no better whip than economics. When the people realize that the improvement in the market situation depends on them and on their work, then I would be optimistic about the success of the reform. There is still another thing which even now makes it possible for us to look with greater optimism into the future. I mean here the attempts to introduce work discipline--at least in our plant.

"What are the principles of a national accord? And what is a national accord, how should we understand it? That all of us should start working together? I don't believe that anyone who was our system's enemy has now changed his views. I think that an accord with everyone is not possible, but I think that it is possible in general. What does it depend on? It depends on improvement in the market situation--people must convince themselves that the government is trying to provide good living conditions for everyone. I regard positively the establishment of the Tribunal of State--an organ which is to control the authorities."

Jech Jaworski, head of the operations group in the Center for Electronic Data Processing in the M. Kasprzak Radio Plant: "Nothing has changed, either for the better or for the worse. People are still living in ignorance; they don't know what awaits them. Many problems still have not been settled, which upsets people--lack of goods in stores, black market operations. In our plant, we continue to have problems with materials and coproduction enterprises. I do not feel the positive effects of the reform. We receive our salaries not for the work which we actually do but for the work which has been assigned in advance to a given position. There is a similar situation with regard to bonuses--if a department fulfills the plan, then everybody, regardless of work input, receives the same compensation. On the one hand, appreciation bonuses are so low that they provide no incentive. If there is anything in stores, it is overpriced. I am upset by the signs 'Price subject to negotiation.' What does it mean? With whom, I say, is the customer to negotiate?

"A national accord is certainly needed, but it is not possible under the conditions of the martial law. Now people are too mistrustful. Everybody--a farmer, a worker, an intellectual, must realize that they are aspiring to the same goal and they need one another. There cannot be differences in the living standard. At this moment, I am opposed to strikes, because they would only prolong the martial law, but in general I think that they are an effective method of struggle, e.g., as in August 1980."

Zbigniew Wielemborek, head of the production operation group at the M. Kasprzak Radio Plant: "The imposition of martial law was a shock to many people. But that shock was accompanied by reintroduction of order in our lives; at least, there is work, and there are some laws and norms which are observed. As a head, I notice, for example, that discipline has improved. This is probably in part a result of the 'military way,' checking on absentees, etc. The only drawback is, that, for example, as a result of these changes our plant has terminated its business relationship with Grundig [a West German electronics company]. What will we be doing in the future? We must find a way out of this situation--independently and through self-financing.

"After a few months it is difficult to assess properly the changes which have occurred. It is self-evident that now, for example, we cannot afford many things. Whichever way we look, there is a constant lack of money; even the change in the pay scale, initiated in our plant as of August, has not helped. Prices are horrendous.

"In social life, unfortunately, many problems requiring solution have not been solved in a terminal fashion. What I have in mind, for example, is the squaring of accounts with former dignitaries. Our society continues to be insufficiently informed about these matters.

"A national accord cannot be implemented by force. The National Unity Front [JED] did not live up to our expectations. We fear that the OKON may turn out to be the same under a new label.

"There are still many problems to be solved. Here I see the role of the trade unions, whether we call them Solidarity or by any other name, in doing something

for the people, e.g., in defending the workers' interests. Both the former unions--those belonging to the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions]--and Solidarity, did achieve something; we should not negate all their achievements. However, a strike is a last resort, and before that there are many acceptable ways of settling problems."

Zdzislaw Maciejewski, metal worker, the K. Swierczewski Precision Products Factory: "To tell the truth, the effects of the reform, at least for now, are barely noticeable here at the bottom, in these lowest positions. Of course, we have received raises, we have been paid an extra bonus, but even so our families live from the first [of one month] to the first [of next month]. Maybe it is still too early to say, or maybe things will start improving soon?

"For the time being, everything is a problem--even school or kindergarten sneakers for children cannot be bought anywhere. These are major problems which engross us every day; interest in politics lags behind all of them. A worker will not participate in all these demonstrations and brawls because he has no time for it; he thinks mainly of his work. Now he has to work harder in order to make both ends meet somehow.

"These prices.... In such a situation, all 'political discussions' must end.

"The Solidarity movement was overly dominated by people who imposed their own concepts on the workers. But the problems of the trade unions must be settled; we still do not know what these trade unions will be like. It is very difficult for the rank and file to start a new initiative; but it should not be that the demands, requests, or wishes of the work forces are 'cut off' at successive levels so that they gradually disappear and an impression is created that the workers are happy with everything.

"An accord? It cannot be determined from above; this is really something to be worked out together, after the martial law has been repealed."

Marian Kosla, polisher, the K. Swierczewski Precision Products Factory: "The reform cannot be implemented by raising prices alone. After all the raises in our plant, I earn the same amount as before, or even less when compared with the cost [of living]. Also, now there is less work than before--and I work by the piece.

"An accord? This is a matter to be taken care of later on. But all these meetings and rallies that are taking place cannot fail to have some effect. The trade unions--it does not matter what they will be called--must defend our interests, and must be independent of anyone, including also the party. Surely, there were too many strikes, and their character was too political and often they were related to very unimportant matters; but probably at that time they reflected the people's desperation. Now we still have so many problems that have to be taken care of and resolved. The only thing is that the situation has to return to normal as soon as possible."

The above opinions prove that the total picture is not optimistic but rather tinged with realism. Everybody is perplexed mainly by the economic situation. It appears that the economic reform, up to this time, has been evident mainly in price increases. Nobody is complaining about earning too much, but nobody is saying that the earnings are sufficient.... This is a nationwide phenomenon. It is also a disquieting phenomenon. GUS [the Main Statistical Office] reports that real income in our country has decreased 25 percent. But it is one thing to read about it, and another to feel its effect on one's pocketbook. Lastly, it is still another thing to read that it only depends on our work efficiency.... All the more so that if we have no raw materials and no energy in a factory we cannot achieve anything through work efficiency, even if we work ourselves to death....

Nobody is hiding these painful aspects of the crisis. But there is another conclusion that can be drawn from our cursory poll. Today, young people do not want strikes and street demonstrations. They do not want them today, though they do not exclude their possibility in the future as an effective method of struggle, in the long run, for a better future.

And this is also a result of the 9 months of tranquillity which have made hot heads cool off.

A strike, a demonstration, a struggle or a barricade, are means of political struggle in one's own country only when it is possible to separate the active ones from the passive ones. When the second group--families, children--have enough to eat and enough to wear. When the main concern is about changes in our country's internal situation and not about a threat to our country.

It is probably for this reason that one of our interviewees regards a national accord as possible to implement after the repeal of the martial law, but not earlier. However, everybody regards work, tranquillity, and again work, as the main principles to be put into practice today.

It is to be hoped that most of our young people think in a similar manner. That the most important thing for them is work and gradual restoration of order in our life and in our state.

The next few days, and not only the next few days, will show whether this manner of thinking prevails.

August 1980-August 1982 Assessment

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 31 Aug 82 p 3

[Opinion collected by W. Jurezak, E. Krupczynska, B. Redzioch, M. Truszkowski and M. Twarog]

[Text] Two or so weeks in August 1980 were recorded by history as August 1980. This word is a symbol. It is a symbol on which we were setting and are still setting great hopes. Everybody assesses in his own way the 2 years which have

passed since the signing of the [Gdansk] social accords. This is too short a time to allow us to get rid of our emotions, but too long not to make us understand that later events were not what millions of people had expected. This is too short a time to allow us to notice, in a new situation, many positive changes, but a long enough time to permit us to assert that there are changes.

We decided to ask our interviewees one question: what they felt in August 1980 and what they feel in August 1982. Here are their opinions:

Jan Hajorski, toolroom employee in the Baildon Iron and Steel Works in Katowice: "It is extremely difficult to objectively assess the 2 years which have passed since the historic August of 1980. There have been so many events and so much emotion in that period that they crowd our memory, making it difficult for us to define clearly our attitude toward them. As it were, I have been employed in the steel and iron works for just a few years, but these 9 years are a fairly long period of time in which a person has seen quite a lot. It was then, during those August strikes, still when they were officially called work tieups, that I began to question what I have believed up to that time. Well, no, I had not always accepted all at face value, even prior to 1980. But it was only after the protests of the workers from the coast that my eyes were wide opened. When we were nearly swallowed up by this avalanche of debts, private schemes to make money, and horrendous errors and distortions, each one of us felt embittered and depressed; the only thing that made us feel optimistic was our society's unity in putting things in order, in jointly restoring law and social justice, in sharing the same enthusiasm, in believing that our activity would bring expected good results. Even the perspective--to be sure, already announced--of shortages in everyday life, of worries and problems related to providing daily sustenance to our families, seemed less terrifying as we thought that together we would be able to avert it. But somehow things turned out differently. Successive strikes, successive protests, in which many a time nobody has a clear idea of the issues involved, caused that original enthusiasm to wane gradually; we were becoming more and more embittered....

"Now, every day of our lives is marked by disarray and by a certain quarrelsome-ness. People have become very mistrustful, aggressive, and suspicious. We have seen the emergence of an unnecessary division into groups and castes, of those who are allegedly for and those who are against. This division is intensified, in my opinion, by instances of unwise preference in the treatment of some workers, e.g., miners. It is not that I wish them to have lower wages, because mining is hard work indeed. But these differences between their wages and mine and the wages of steel and iron workers in general, are too great if we consider the differences between the work of miners and my work. Money has never united people, and it will not do it now, when our living expenses are calculated not in single but thousands of zlotys.... Today's living on ration cards is also rationed living, which is wearisome, particularly when problems and worries are with us day and night. Because of this, I have become more pessimistic."

Jozef Wichary, an engineer, 31 years old, an employee of the Port of Szczecin Mechanized Equipment Repair Shop: "On Tuesday, 19 August 1980, I was elected

"Chairman of the port strike committee. A day earlier, at the beginning of the second shift, approximately 300 persons had stopped working. We gathered in the social room, demanding talks with representatives of the management. Such talks were eventually held, but during the talks none of us was able to make specific demands. We still did not have our strike leadership....

"Then came 14 difficult days which were full of tension and expectation. I remember them perfectly well. I had a lump in my throat when my wife and son came to the [port] gate. That was a short time before the signing of the historic Szczecin agreement. During the first days of the strike I slept only a few hours each night. The whole port was the responsibility of the strike committee. We regarded the strike and the protest as something tragic but necessary. We were trying to reduce the losses caused by the port being idle. I remember that a decision was made to admit into the port those ships which already lay in the roadstead at Swinoujscie. We facilitated the normal operation of branches of various enterprises which were located in the port area. The tugboat crews were on full alert. That was not a strike for the sake of a strike....

"Several months later I withdrew from the union activity. I did not want to become an activist who was floating with the tide. Up until the spring of 1981 I was a member of a mixed commission which supervised the implementation of accords and demands. But I did not become, later on, a member of the Solidarity Seaport Coordinating Commission.

"I believe that we have not lost the gains which we made in August 1980. The demands which have been implemented testify to the effectiveness of those worker protests and risings. I regard the Dockworkers' Charter as an achievement. A draft of this document was approved, after long negotiations, during the night of 21 August 1981. However, this was an example of constructive, matter-of-fact talks and of a correct approach to worker problems by both sides--by the trade union, which represented the interests of the workers, and by representatives of the government. Unfortunately, there were few such occurrences....

"In 1981, I, as well as many of my colleagues, gradually ceased to comprehend what was happening. The work crew of the port would be the last to learn about decisions regarding consecutive protests and strikes which so ruined our economy. We did not have our representatives in the regional executive bodies of Solidarity. And yet ours was the second largest plant in Szczecin! The decisions regarding strikes and protests were made by a very small group.

"How do I regard August 1980 from today's perspective? Frequently I stop to think what a union activist would be able to do for the people under the present conditions. His life would be very difficult today. In order to bring about the implementation of the workers' proposals or demands, he would have to consider their feasibility, that is, our country's economic situation. On the other hand, he would be constantly under our society's pressure. If he demands so little--they would say--he is an ineffective union activist. This uncovers the problem of our limited human and social awareness. I believe

that this awareness is very limited, which is also a result of what had been happening in our social life prior to August 1980.

"What we lack most in 1982 yoland is consistency in our actions. A working man wants three things today: compensation for his work, goods in stores, and tranquillity after work. It is quite normal, and it is attainable. It is not true that there is a general dislike for honest work. There is a dislike for the kind of work that is done by three persons when only one person would be needed.

"I believe, as many do, that the martial law should bring more quickly a greater number of positive changes in our economy, in our life, and among people who are in charge of our economy. There is also need for consistency in eliminating various negative phenomena. Then we could be sure that things would be different and better tomorrow...."

Stanislaw Pajdzik, metal worker at the PAFAWAG Railroad Car Factory in Wroclaw: "August 1980 and the changes which it brought were much needed. At that time I had hopes that 'pure socialism,' as I define it, would find expression in our country; I was hoping that there would be greater democracy and that the authorities, both those at the factory and those 'higher up,' would finally begin to respect the workers. I supported the Gdansk accords--they gave us hope that the government and the party would be with the people. But then came chaos--there were strikes for all kinds of reasons, and there were new requests and new demands. That was unnecessary; what we needed at that time was our work and not strikes.

"The imposition of martial law has helped defuse this situation. Of course, the martial law imposes certain strict regulations, but, indeed, it will not last forever.

"I think that once more we should trust the authorities and help to overcome the crisis in our country, because there will be no changes for the better without our involvement and productive work. I hope that everything will change; incidentally, there are already some visible changes--in our plant, one-person decisions are no longer made, and the workers are consulted about all the decisions. Both the director and the secretary of the POP [Basic Party Organization] no longer base their decisions on their own opinion but on the opinion of the entire work force.

"Those who govern our country also probably have drawn appropriate conclusions from the events of August 1980. After all, I see that General Jaruzelski is keeping his word and is consistently implementing his promises. An economic reform is being carried out; there is noticeable concern for the workers, and the farmers are being given assistance.

"In my department, the feelings are mixed--some people are embittered and think that the martial law was directed against our nation, but most understand the reasons for the decision and, just as I do, hope for a better future, bringing up their children in this spirit."

Tadeusz Papis, setting-up foreman in the Mechanical Department of the Fonica Lodz Radio Plant, not a party member; was a member of Solidarity until September 1981: "I realized what it was all about and where it was headed. We all thought, my fellow workers included, that the government policies prior to 1980 had been wrong. Thus, the protest of the workers in August was, in our opinion, totally justified, first of all, because of all those distortions which had accumulated. When the Solidarity union came into being, I thought that it was going to be a labor union which would concern itself with problems of working people. It turned out that I had been wrong. I, and many people, joined Solidarity, but it turned out that they were not concerned about our problems but about what they intended to do. There was too much politics in that. Those other unions, prior to August, had been run by the government and therefore were ineffective. The new ones, too, have disappointed me. But I think that, in spite of everything, much has remained from August 1980, and that things are not at all the way that they used to be once. Indeed, people are slowly beginning to sense it; depression and dislike are receding. Because the government, in the main, has adhered to the accords which it signed in Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie. There is evidence of attempts to improve things. In our plant we even get more money--as much as is due us--without having to resort to loud arguments and to the use of force. As for [raising] prices, it would have been impossible to achieve under the conditions which existed prior to December [1981]. I am very glad that it ended the way it did, because if it had ended differently, nobody knows whether we would still be alive, if Solidarity had achieved all its goals.

"I think that now also there should be one union, without any branch or other types of unions; we should all be together, and we should work together for our welfare. Let bygones be bygones. And now we must start working hard without delay, because we have lost a lot during those 2 years...."

Stanislaw Krawczyk, setting-up specialist for automatic equipment, the Mechanical Department of the Fonica Lodz Radio Plant, not a party member, has been a plant employee for 30 years; until December 1981 he was chairman of Solidarity organization in the department: "I am neither an economist nor a politician, and so it is difficult for me to make an assessment from these standpoints. But we know one thing, namely, that in the years 1979-1980 we had become so disenchanted and disappointed that we would not have allowed the existing situation to continue. New unions came into being, and it so happened that in the Fonica there were intelligent people, most of whom had worked here for many years; thus, it was possible to come to an understanding. Here nobody tried to frighten the heads and the management--that was unthinkable; but at last it was possible to point out all the errors. I myself would not spare my best friend; I would give him hell if I thought that he deserved it. Indeed, it makes one sick to look at these young people. In the course of time, people would demand goodness knows what; and what could one give them in that situation, when there was a shortage of everything? Today, too, if a person did not go to stores, perhaps he would assess the situation differently.... The government is perhaps trying, but it seems not to be having much success, perhaps because of the sanctions...? The Fonica does not have enough employees, and therefore it is possible to make extra money by working overtime; but what is the use, if we have to work 16 hours a day anyway? On the other hand, if

Look at these young loafers, and at bazaar vendors, you are horror-stricken. And it is in this area that the authorities have not passed the test, because laws on compulsory work will not solve the problem. What is the use of compelling such a person to work, if he botches everything up while working at our plant, and I, in the end, have to do his work for him? There are campaigns against idleness and black market operations, but they are not very consistent. In this area, some other system must be worked out....

"Today, too, a person is caught in the middle, because information is often contradictory. Surely, maybe Solidarity went too far, but one must also consider the fact that those were young and inexperienced people, and that their advisers were able to manipulate them.

"My viewpoint is not political but rather economic--my point is a second home to me, and that is why it hurts me so much when there are economic difficulties, poor-quality tools, inferior equipment, all patched and glued together.

"No one is going to tell me that all the party members are superpatriots. It is still worse if such a person botches up the work and then covers it up. It is not important who is where, whether in the party or not, in what associations, what divisions--our only concern is that every one of us should be a decent human being."

Ryszard Lis, a farmer from the gmina of Strzyzewice, Lublin Voivodship: "I don't hide the fact that when my thoughts return to the summer of 1980, the things that I remember most are joy and hope. My family, acquaintances, and neighbors--almost all of us were glad that at last some long-awaited changes were beginning to take place in our country, and that our entire nation was beginning to express itself, demanding strict accounting from those who had brought Poland to the brink of economic, social and political ruin. While rejoicing at the changes which were being made, we hoped that all the strength and wisdom of our nation, all the possibilities of our economy, and the genuine patriotism of all of us Poles would be activated and utilized, and that all this would facilitate a more rapid recovery of our economy, the expansion and strengthening of democracy in our social and political life, and the complete unification of the state and the nation in their concern for the future of our homeland and our children. I was setting high hopes on the emergency of a new labor movement of worker and peasant Solidarity, independent of the administration and the government. A matter of lesser importance but an essential one for us farmers was an announcement by the authorities that the practice of deceiving the farmers with empty promises would be discontinued, that the rural areas would receive greater assistance in the form of means to increase production and to modernize individual farms, that the status of individual family farms in a socialist system would be regulated by laws, and that all the sectors of agriculture would receive equal treatment. I have already ceased to believe that the changes which were being announced in the fall of 1980 will ever be implemented voluntarily and without coercion. I don't want to speak about larger issues: the disarray in our nation, the suspension of rights, and the fact that our country is being administered by the apparatus and by the army. After all, I don't know these complex issues too

well, since we are not fully informed about them. On the other hand, I have a good knowledge of our rural area and of the problems with which we farmers are continuing to wrestle.

"Our profession is today--in the time of ration cards, shortages in stores, and rising food prices--the focus of our nation's particular attention. We are being reproached that we are unable to feed the population and, on the other hand, that our income is rising very rapidly. I admit that the farmers are beginning to do a little better, because they have no problem selling their products; but very little has changed in the area of production conditions. For example, it is more difficult than 2 years ago to buy fertilizer, plant pesticides, and fodder; there has been a decrease in the supply of tools and machinery and construction materials. In the agricultural products market, there is an increasing price anarchy. On an ever-widening scale, the government is introducing fixed sale in the form of ration coupons and allotments. State farms and agricultural production cooperatives continue to enjoy their privileged status with regard to means of production. How, then, are we to produce more and to feed our nation, while the means of production are subject to ever-increasing restrictions?

"The rural area has not changed much during the past 2 years."

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FURTHER EXECUTORY REGULATIONS FOR TEACHER'S CHARTER PUBLISHED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 25, 1 Aug 82 p 11

[Text] The teacher's charter went into effect the day of its publication, 1 February 1982. However, it is a necessary condition of its full implementation that all executory provisions be enacted. Statistically, every third provision of the law contains a reference to executory provisions, and there are 33 of them. Therefore, the entire teaching profession awaits the publication of these provisions with impatience and various degrees of anxiety.

In this, and subsequent editions, we will publish full texts of the directives of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing pertaining to the following issues: rule for obtaining permission for teachers to have additional employment and conditions in which there is no requirement for obtaining permission--22 June 1982; the determination of facilities, posts and conditions in which a teacher may be required to perform the mandatory weekly amount of upbringing activities, nighttime included--30 June 1982; the tasks of teachers entrusted with directing functions in schools--22 June 1982; rules for employing teachers and school librarians--30 June 1982; and determination of the principles for distribution of the special awards fund for teachers--12 July 1982.

We await the remaining directives.

Article 101, paragraph 1 of the charter imposes on the minister of education and upbringing and other ministers a responsibility for promulgation of the executory provisions prior to 31 July 1982 (which we have written about repeatedly) and provides that the current executory provisions shall be in force until 21 July. This means that after that date they are annuled by law. Therefore, it is possible that there could emerge a "gap," or actually a suspension of the legal machinery, that would create a very difficult situation for teachers as well as the educational administration.

For this reason, we believe, or rather hope, that both the ministries and the parliamentary commissions for education and upbringing will do everything to honor that deadline.

Incidentally, it would be proper to note that according to provisions of the charter, benefits attributable to entitlements of teachers will be put into operation beginning 1 September, unless the provisions of the law provide otherwise.

(End)

/Directive/

for the minister of education and upbringing of 22 June 1982 (No EO-Z2-1013/2/G/81) re rules for giving permission for additional employment to teachers and the determination of cases in which permission is not required./ [Material within slantlines published in boldface]

In reference to Art 45, para 2 of the law of 26 January 1982, Teacher's Charter (DZ.U. [Legal Gazette], No 3, item 19) hereafter called the charter, the following is directed:

Article 1

Permission for additional employment may be given to a teacher who:

--duly fulfills his employment duties;

--accepts, in another institution, work of a didactic, upbringing, tutelary, scientific or artistic nature, or work in the area of scientific-technical consultation or medical or education administration services, providing that the additional employment does not interfere with the employment duties in the primary school and is limited to not more than half of regular time.

Article 2

Permission for additional employment may not be granted to a teacher who:

--utilizes reduction of work hours;

--utilizes paid vacation;

--is entrusted with a directing function in the school.

Article 3

Permission for additional employment, petitioned by the institution in which the teacher is to assume employment, is granted by the organ performing direct supervision over the school (which employs the teacher) after obtaining consent from the school principal.

Article 4

Obtaining permission is not required for additional employment:

--in summer and winter rest facilities for children and youth (with the exception of permanent and seasonal youth hostels) and seasonal rest facilities for teachers;

--in the capacity of lecturer or prelecturer in courses and lectures organized by schools according to separate provisions;

--in the capacity of lecturer or prelecturer in courses and lectures organized by social associations and organizations, to whose statutory activity educational-cultural activity belongs;

--in the capacity of lecturer or prelecturer [line apparently missing] open universities, providing the above-enumerated duties are on a temporary basis and do not interfere with his duties in the primary school of employment.

Article 5

Permission for additional employment issued prior to the date this directive goes into effect are valid to the expiration of the term for which they were issued but not later than 31 December 1982.

Article 6

The provisions of the order of the minister of education and upbringing of 2 July 1973 regarding executory regulations pertaining to the rights, responsibilities and wages of teachers (Dz. Urz. MoŹW [Official Gazette of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing] No 12, item 100, as amended) are hereby repealed --to the extent regulated by this directive.

Article 7

This directive goes into effect on the day of its publication.

/Directive/

/of the minister of education and upbringing of 30 June 1982 (No DW4-11-0162-1/82) regarding determination of facilities, posts, and conditions in which a teacher may be required to perform the mandatory weekly amount of upbringing activities, nighttime included./

In reference to Article 44, paragraph 1 of the law of 26 January 1982, Teacher's Charter (DZIENNIK USTAW No 3, item 19), the following is directed:

Article 1

A teacher may be required to perform the mandatory weekly amount of upbringing activities, in the form of providing upbringing care, nighttime included.

Article 2

1. Facilities in which upbringing care is provided, nighttime included, are:

- 1) Correctional institutions;
- 2) Hostels for adolescents;
- 3) Diagnostic-consultative family centers with dormitories for children and youth;
- 4) State centers for the upbringing of youth;
- 5) State emergency care units.

2. Facilities in which the provision of upbringing activities, nighttime included, may come to be necessary are:

- 1) Children's homes;
- 2) Educational-upbringing centers;
- 3) Special educational-upbringing institutions;
- 4) Upbringing camps;
- 5) Dormitories and boarding schools;
- 6) Children's rest homes;

3. Facilities in which upbringing care may be provided because of particularly justifiable circumstances, nighttime included, are medical-upbringing facilities for children and youth of the sanatorium type.

Article 3

1. In the facilities mentioned in Article 2, paragraph 2, nighttime teacher work may take place only in cases that demand the provision of the wards with upbringing care, nighttime included, because at least one of the following conditions arises:

- 1) Specificity of the facility involving, in particular, admission of children during nighttime;
- 2) Character of the wards (children of post-infancy, kindergarten and younger school age, children with deviance and disturbance in their development and state of health, children displaying social maladjustment);
- 3) Local environment specificity that may present a threat to wards; and
- 4) Housing conditions (housing of groups in different buildings, different zones of a facility).

2. In facilities mentioned in Article 2, paragraph 3, nighttime teacher work may take place only in cases that demand the provision of the wards with upbringing care, nighttime included, because of serious upbringing difficulties arising temporarily.

Article 4

In the facilities mentioned in Article 2, paragraphs 2 and 3, the director makes the decision regarding the exigency of providing an all night (or during night hours, i.e., between 9 pm and 7 am, within an 8-hour limit) upbringing care and notifies the organ performing the immediate supervision of the facility.

Article 5

1. Any teacher employed in the facilities mentioned in Article 2 may be required to perform upbringing care, nighttime included.

2. A female teacher nurturing a child below the age of four may be required to provide upbringing care, nighttime included, only with her consent.

3. A work plan for teachers of a given facility that takes into consideration nighttime employment, should provide:

1) A day off after night work of 8 hours duration;

2) The opportunity to obtain two consecutive nights off, either Sunday and Monday or Saturday and Sunday, at least once every 2 weeks;

3) Equal distribution of nighttime work among the teachers.

Article 6

Nighttime work of counselors in rest facilities for children and youth is regulated by separate provisions.

Article 7

Remuneration for nighttime work is regulated by separate provisions.

Article 8

This directive goes into effect on the day of publication and is in force from 1 August 1982.

9952

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CLASS STRUCTURE CHANGE SEEN AS DANGER, CHALLENGE TO LCY

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 6, Jun 82 pp 969-986

[Article by Zoran Vidojevic: "Class Structure, the Class Struggle and the League of Communists"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] Structure as a Process

The social composition and developmental tendencies of the League of Communists [LC] cannot be examined and clarified in a Marxist fashion apart from a theoretical insight into the class structure of society as a whole, into the primary forms, causes and directions of change, into the principal contradictions and tendencies of social development. I start from the premise that this composition and its dynamic pattern of change are a kind of /class and political seismograph/, that certain patterns of social development, the balance of class and political forces and social conflicts, crises and profound upheavals are expressed in this composition and dynamic pattern and that they have an impact on broader social and political developments.

We are unable to avoid this question, which at first seems commonplace, but in essence is the most important one: /What kind of society do we actually have today?/ And that not only with respect to how many workers, peasants, intellectuals and so on are in it, which is certainly important as an insight into the facts, but as a mere description of quantitative relations and facts it remains within the confines of the well-known conception of "friendly classes" in socialist society. The priority question which imposes itself, then, is this: What are above all the /qualitative relations/ between the fundamental social groupings, what is their /place/ in the production and distribution of the surplus value, in the actual structure of political power and social clout, in /opportunities for social promotion/ and the sharing out of opportunities, in the use and creation of cultural and intellectual goods and values, in the /configuration of interests/ and in concrete /class struggles/? We know especially little about the content and flows, causes and forms of the class struggle in present-day Yugoslav society, but also broader, in all socialist societies of the present time.

We are faced, and I would like to emphasize this, not only with processes of "workerization," but also "deworkerization" of portions of the nonproducer social group in present-day Yugoslav society. We know little about which social

groups are converging toward one another, and which are diverging, what is the character of that convergence and divergence and their impact on the structuring and destructuring of society as a whole and of the League of Communists itself. In theory and methodology, /hardly any account at all is taken of structure as a process and vice versa [?], a process like coagulation, crystallization of certain relatively lasting relations around some central social axis, actually around the class division of labor in its contemporary form, around the production and distribution of the surplus value/.

In that sense we cannot be altogether satisfied with the scheme of the social structure of present-day Yugoslav society or, to put it better, with that one of those schemes which has it composed of the managerial stratum, the middle strata, the working class and the peasantry, nor that vision of that class which identifies it only according to occupation, but not also according to the struggle which is waging against certain social groups outside, or more precisely, above it, but also with its own self.

The class approach is basic to the Marxist theory of society; the stratum approach can have only a supplemental function, though not an insignificant one. I would not be in favor of that total opposition of these two approaches which has been steeped in ideology, although there do undoubtedly exist fundamental differences between them in their point of departure, in the theory and methodological conduct of analysis, and in the conclusions. In this one must always see /what follows from what/, what is the basis and what has been derived. Strata in fact are not reality, but rather the original and /primary reality are classes/, which cannot even be seen in the narrow stratification framework of social analysis.

All those parts of society, as given in the scheme cited above, actually do exist empirically, but it is insufficient, even erroneous, to remain only at the level of that static picture, whether we are talking about the global social structure or about the social composition of the League of Communists. That is, we have to put the question of what those social groups /signify/ in the present relations of production, distribution and consumption, in the overall context of the institutional system, in formal and informal social power, what do they actually favor, what sort of "picture" of socialism do they carry with them?

We must also put this question: /Who is with it and against whom/ in that lineup of specific social groupings, /what sort of global changes arise out of the network of their mutual relations, what sort of alliances and struggles, and whose interests are really dominant/? A related question is this: What, then, is the empirical nature of the League of Communists, in what way are all those social groupings, flexures, contradictions and conflicts expressed in its composition, and what impact is it having on the global structurings and destructurings, the concrete process of the class struggle, and from what positions does it do so?

The essential thing here from the standpoint of theory and methodology is to /grasp the working class in terms of the unity of its position in social reproduction, of its struggle to realize its own immediate and historic

interests, of its political organization and of its consciousness/. I think that only in that way can we get to the truth of the nature of the working class and the dynamic pattern of its development. It is extremely important in this connection to determine the nature of productive labor and of those who do it in present-day Yugoslav society. If from the standpoint of capital productive labor is that labor which creates surplus value, what, then, is that labor in present-day Yugoslav society? At the very least, /productive labor must not be reduced to the mere production of physical goods and services/, although undoubtedly it does still remain in that traditional form even in this very day.

However, productive labor is any labor which creates new value, so that science and knowledge become essential elements of that labor, since ultimately these are the essential elements in development of society's productive forces. Of course, the class struggle is also an essential element of the development of these forces.

However, productive labor cannot be examined exclusively from that angle. It must be placed in theoretical terms in the /production of social relations/, in production relations, proceeding from the question of the extent to which wage relations and exploitation are reproduced in old and new forms and the extent to which, on the other hand, they are disappearing. It is precisely that /social determination/, the concrete-historical aspect of productive labor, its placement in the production of social relations that is lacking in many of our analyses.

It is extremely important to discover /on what basis the specific structuring of the basic social groups is taking place. Is it on the basis of labor or property or function and place in the division of labor and the organization of work/? Which of these elements is most important as the basis for that structuring and destructuring? Can we say that in the real social relations work is the sole condition of the social status of a man and social groups today in our society? My assumption is that places in the structure of economic and political power, in the division of labor and the organization of work are the most important elements of the social position of the various social groups and of the individual person, and that this /where one works and at what level on the ladder in the organization of work and social power means far more than what one does and how it is done/.

Social status is to the greatest degree the /resultant/ of those places. In formal terms, almost all the parts and all the active members of society do /live from their labor. However, real differences in the matter of the degree to which labor truly determines man's social position are made evident by an analysis of production relations, of the real /accessibility of the conditions of labor/, of the real /control over the use of those conditions/ by individual social groups, parts of them and "fractions," that is, the members of society, of the real movement and distribution of the surplus value.

It can be assumed that /the importance of group and individual private appropriation of the social surplus value /is also growing/. It is not just a question of the traditional form of individual private property, but above all

Concrete historical forms of collective-private, group, governmental and governmental ownership and the phenomenon of privatization in general, which necessarily goes hand in hand with such development in production-ownership relations. Government ownership is the material "side," actually the base, of statism, while group ownership is the physical side or base of partialization of the working class and of self-management. And the one goes hand in hand with the other, at least at present, in the existing mode of production.

It is not just a question of changes in people's material position. It is a question of the entire scale of elements which are transformed under the effect of those new tendencies which penetrate to the very marrow of ownership, the way of life, social psychology, ideological consciousness, which influences not only what we might provisionally refer to as interclass relations, but also intraclass relations. There is good reason to assume /growing importance of the holding or nonholding of office/, of an entire hierarchy of various "chief," executive and supervisory positions in the social division of labor and in social life in general. In this we must, of course, steer clear of those vulgarizations which equate all those who perform managerial functions as such, regardless of the totality of social and above all production relations, with the political bureaucracy and technocracy, but also those who reduce the bureaucracy and technocracy to a "method" of management, but do not see them as a separate social group which is basing its position on monopoly of economic and political power.

A social group which is in many respects /outside the system/, which bases its position neither on work nor on ownership, nor indeed on holding office, but on deprivation of the conditions for work and very small opportunities for normal existence/, is growing larger and larger. These are the /unemployed/. They are an exceedingly important element of the global social structure of society and must precisely be seen as such an element, and not exclusively as a problem of social welfare policy, of new job policy, and so on.

/The motivation for more productive and better work/ is, empirically speaking, one of the /central/ problems of our present society.

It is obvious that the opportunities for authentic distribution according to the results of work are diminishing. "Leveling" is becoming stronger, but so are the income spreads between sectors and within sectors. Development of the productive forces are being blocked by both. I want to emphasize that behind this there stands a /class criterion/, that the decline of the productivity of labor is a relatively long-standing and stable tendency actually has behind it a /class basis/, that their primary causes are not contained in poor regulations on distribution or the underdeveloped consciousness of the workers, the penetration of "the consumer psychology" into their ranks (which in and of itself is not untrue, but it is not essential to explaining these lasting tendencies of a structural nature). It is above all a question of /the general social position of a majority of the working class and the treatment of productive labor/, of the fact that in the present relations of production and distribution those social groups do far better which have a monopoly over mediation in economic and political life than do the direct producers, and that

the working class, re-socialization and in general, partialization of the process of socialization, important /factors/ social soil for individualism that monopoly/

What is more there is the transition of the migration from the primitive to the modern /phase/ activities, which can be followed in all segments of the organization of organized labor. The field of education is a direct reflection of previous governments of that field.

However, there is still another process in migration - which we are not sufficiently conscious, though it is being manifested ever more strongly. This is what I would call migration of well educated from the socialized to the private sector/.

I think that we have not even come close to a sufficient realization of what is going on and coming from the standpoint of development of the material life of society, especially out of the new opportunities and destructions of the social equilibrium. I should immediately add that all these processes of migration into the private sector are not in every case preceded by a social mobility. It is realistic, a goodly portion of our present working population must be able to maintain elementary or at least average conditions of life without it. It will not have supplemental earnings from work outside of their regular work. But that is only one side of the coin.

The migration to the private sector better and more productive work in the socialized sector is an enormous and extremely important social problem which in the long run could have serious consequences in the basic relations of production and in development of the productive forces of labor.

Added to this there is also a /civilizing effect/ of these developments. The social mobility in the private sector that social mobility is limited in the private sector is a factor in the working class toward supplemental earnings. It is a factor in our time that has optimistic implications and calls a virtue of necessity.

I am not in accord with those theories according to which all supplemental labor is a factor in civilization, an aspiration to betterment and an indication of a "new" "betterment society," which characterizes the working class. I am not in accord with those theories which characterizes the working class as being bound to socialism. I am not in accord with the theories of the last several decades with respect to the role of unemployment. The man who is driving a tractor who relies on the socialized sector of the economy and who truly lives from his labor is a potential ally of the working class. And more than that. His mind nature is essentially different from the traditional farmer, from a narrow portion of the agrarian of private owners. He is not an opponent of socialism and the working class, but neither is he its ally. He is still within the boundaries of the traditional plot of land and his ownership in its other forms. This is especially important in the case of the peasantry for regenerating and updating the class of the working class and the peasantry. In the process of the socialization of the peasantry which is the opposite of the process of collectivization, the peasantry is the traditional form of society, ownership, group and mobility, whereas in the conditions of production and exchange the

...positions and roles of the peasantry are quite different and far more influential, as are strategies of economic and social development in which the place of agriculture is examined in an essentially new way as an activity which can pull overall economic development forward, which looks differently upon the relevant content and forms of self-management in rural areas and overcoming differences between city and country in overall--and not merely material--conditions of life; on those new historical foundations the peasantry can change fundamentally in a progressive direction, and can again become not only a natural ally, but even a specific part of the working class. Not the entire peasantry, of course, but the working peasantry. Since within the peasantry there are very profound processes of /class differentiation/.

I would like, however, to call attention to the need for us to examine the tendencies of long-range development from the standpoint of the migration of work capacities from the socialized into the private sector, of demotivation for more productive work in the socialized sector, and diminishment of the material substance of social property. But they have an altogether different class character than those constructive developments indispensable to socialism within the stratum of small owners, which also includes a major portion of the peasantry.

I would like to express rather large reservations concerning the conception that there do not exist any very serious /social tensions/ in our society, because there are no manifest acute social conflicts. The social tensions in our country, if we compare our society to certain other socialist societies, viewed as a whole are at present of a relatively less acute and somewhat different character when it comes to the relations between the working classes and the managerial stratum. But let us not regard that as any consolation. Fundamentally, in our society there also exist very acute social and political tensions which threaten its very integrity, as quite recently indicated by the events in Moscow, which cannot be explained /merely/ in terms of the "local" character of power, the negative historical legacy, foreign influences and political culture in that region. The job of a serious sociological, /class-based/ analysis of these events in all their aspects, genesis and consequences has yet to be done.

On never optimistic conclusion that there are no very serious social conflicts in our society is often based on the estimate that the number of /sick/ has dropped. However, it is a much more serious matter that we have a general trend toward absenteeism in productive work organizations, and moreover a trend of absenteeism based on work. We have a kind of /passive resistance/ as one of the expressions of the class struggle, of the class protest of the workers against the conditions of their existence, though this absenteeism does not come down to that, since there is also real illness, irresponsibility and well-known "negligence." For society, for the development of the production forces, for the overall possibilities of the development of self-management all of this is far more dangerous than strikes themselves, as the most explosive and visible form of class struggle.

There is being formed not only a progressive new social alliance of producers of material and spiritual values, /but perhaps in conception even a new petit

meritocracy (but also all other forms of it), along with everything that is called--often inappropriately and hastily--the technocracy are forming relatively firm ties in terms of interest, political practice and ideological consciousness, and more power is held by those who represent formal titles and knowledge in the hierarchical organization of labor than by specialists. All of this is coming closer together around its group and stratum interests, at the heart of which is the /maintenance of privileges/, even though those positions, substrata, and so on, are within themselves struggling for superiority at "bottleneck." In that pressing together around their fundamental interests, they are /far more successful than the working class/. Nevertheless, we know little about what is happening within the managerial stratum in economic, political and social life as a whole. It is not socially homogeneous, nor homogeneous in any other respect. The picture representing that stratum to have any compactness is a false one, and the contradictions which are arising within the managerial stratum should not be sought solely in the domain of the exercise of their functions, the structure of political power and the struggle for power, though, of course, these elements are extremely important. The contradictions within that stratum and between it and the working class must be linked up to the contradictions of production relations, in whose exacerbation (which could even reach the level of crisis) or tendency to be overcome (should the essential existential differences between it and the working class vanish) it is the position and role of that stratum which have great importance. The specific contradictions and tensions that exist within that stratum and the range of their causes are not sufficiently evident as yet; especially important here are the present political configuration of society, the reality of the political system, the "production" of government power, the manner of its reproduction, the actual development of self-management democracy, the principal distinguishing characteristics of the consciousness of those who are part of it, the practical attitude toward the most important immediate and historical interests of the working class. The question must be asked: how is that stratum as a whole /profiled/ in social, political and ideological terms in the context of the very aggravated contradictions in society? What predominates in it over the long run?, and what consequences will these have for global developments? Moreover, the /world context/ must be included in the analysis, especially what is happening in socialism and with socialism as it is today. To see that stratum above all as an elite with managerial privileges is one-sided. There are ultimately parts of society which are far better off in that respect--that part of the private-owner stratum, for example, that is accumulating capital. The main question as one examines the nature of that stratum is whether or not a process of monopolization or centralization of /authority and power/ is actually taking place, which ultimately leads us to ask how far self-management democracy has developed? Material conditions must be stated insofar as that democracy is stunted,

What relationship exists between the features and tendencies of society's global structure and the social composition of the League of Communists? What relationship exists between the /processes of economic crisis/ (and not only economic), the decline of the standard of living of a majority of the working class, their inadequate place in the bodies of government and the so-called centers of economic and political power, on the one hand, and developments in the social composition of the League of Communists on the other?

2. Social conditions can be framed. Those parts of society which are /most af- / fected by the economic crisis, as the general conditions of existence, by the / social and political structure, the League, the their place in the structure of so- / cial life, — are the subject-matter in the social composition of the League of / Communists. Of course, the economic crisis, the exaggerated contradictions / of social development, social conflicts, and so on /selectively affect/ dif- / ferent parts of society. All of this is necessarily reflected in the social / composition and developmental tendencies of the League of Communists as well. / That is why the problem of the social composition of the League of Communists / must be examined in the framework of the concrete historical situation of our / society, of the actual social system, role and opportunities, and life of every / social group.

In analyzing structure as a process does not signify a /sequent incorpora- / tion of unresolvable /contradictions into that conception. Structure does, of / course, be examined through the optical objective as development, as social / changes and conflicts, and the actual picture also in its /situation of the / position and those very important potentials for progress which exist in the / League of Communists, in the practice of self-management, in social conscious- / ness, in the nature of the class and the League of Communists. All this possi- / bility is not only what stands as the latent potential of progressive historical / development. It is not reduced to that. There are also potentials for the / objectively negative, the reactionary and /counter-revolutionary/.

And since the League of Communists, which on the whole has /historically con- / firmed itself to be a party of revolutionary innovations, sometimes only what / is backward. There are also nonrevolutionary, conservative, and indeed even / reactionary potentials not only in society, but even in parts of the League of / Communists, and that more than we anticipated as wasted and derelict in /individuals. There is a problem of drawing a relatively clear line in its future be- / tween the actual progressiveness and its more primitive, reactionary and /Vege- / tarian. Besides to this is the actual capability of the League of Communists / to overcome its own programmatic commitment, to overcome the contradictions / clearly. It has, indeed, to build a platform for realizing society's burning / problems as an /organ of the movement for self-management. There are / certain qualitative basic criteria that must be the points of departure in /evaluating / progress, regression and developmental tendencies.

We must not consider the dialectics between the class aspect and the ethnic as- / pect in such a way that the ethnic aspect is displacing /the class aspect, / the dialectics between self-management and the government / system, must not mean a way that the government is substituting self-manage- / ment, or the /dialectics between partiality and the community breaking down / into /partiality. That partiality in various forms is prevailing over communi- / ty. It is a /contradiction that exists within the League of Commu- / nists itself, there are similar processes taking place within it itself reached / an /self-managing / These questions, I would like to emphasize, are / not answered by an /nostalgia for some form of bureaucratic central- / ized authority, however, but conscious effectiveness. But by a desire for us to / face up to the actual contradictions both within the League of Communists / and in the society as a whole, to seek and find answers to the most urgent

issues of our present-day society from the positions of the communist platform. And the main question, that question which we are putting repeatedly, and perhaps we are not framing in concrete historical dimensions, is this: /What is happening to the class/? The question of who belongs to that class must be refracted through the prism of a question which has a higher /ontological status--what is that class/ not only in the strictly sociological sense, but above all /What is it from the standpoint of a real actor in history/?

This is why the primary problem is the problem of the working class as /an actor in its own right/, rather than of "defining" it, of determining all those who belong to it, though, of course, I do not neglect the latter. Defining the concept of the working class is not even possible without answering the question of whether it is becoming an independent agent in social development. The independent agency of the class is in turn inseparable from whether it has its /own identity/ as a class. There are no dialectics between the identity and nonidentity of the nature of the class and the nature of the party /insofar as the class loses its identity, if the processes of its disintegration become stronger/. Of course, this does not mean that we are adopting that vision of it in which it is already so disordered and disintegrated that it actually does not exist as a class, that it consists of a number of mutually antagonized parts and that there is no opportunity at all for it to organize itself as a whole. However, it is a fact that in the present relations of production and distribution, in all those processes of countless erection of barriers and partializations, of intersection of the normal flows of reproduction and linkage of the working class, under the conditions of bureaucratic tutelage of the class, /its identity as a class is threatened/. It can be assumed on the basis of certain empirical material that the contradictions between the relatively privileged parts of that class and those parts of it which are reduced to manpower at the minimum of subsistence are /greater/ than the contradictions between those other parts of it and the unprivileged groupings and strata outside the class. Even in this sense there are /shifts of class fronts/, divisions within classes and within strata. That is why the class struggle must be examined "from outside" and in global revolutions, but also from within and in its microcosmic relations.

On Class Struggle: Who, With Whom, Against Whom

We must beware both of the bourgeois, positivistic rejection of the class struggle and also of its absolutization. Such an absolutization, along with the other conditions, could be a /pillar of support for a system of coercion/, instead of a system of freedom, a willy-nilly disposition in favor of neo-Stalinism. Incidentally, the knowledge /that classes are also a form of people's alienation/ is essential to the Marxist theory of revolution. The working class has only a potential by abolishing its own--to abolish, if not all human alienation, then at least its historical and class foundation. One of the principal ways whereby it potentially achieves this is its struggle against the propertied and ruling classes or against their historical replacements which emerge in the form of other social groups whose position is based on this or that type of wage relation, appropriation of the surplus value of labor, and political and ideological subordination of the working classes and strata. The most important thing here is not whether those new historical

... which all of them have some of the features of the former ruling classes, although they are called a class or not. Most important is their /actual position/ and /role/, that is, that the working class and social groups and strata opposed to it are making class struggle against those groups and that this process is /objectively determined/ in the nature of the production relations, which are based on the possession of the surplus value.

Another question is the working class struggle in present-day Yugoslavia?

Certainly, the working class is not opposed by one, but by /several/ social groups on basis of their in the present mode of production and distribution of income, social power and political power. But this does not mean that all these groups which oppress the working class can be measured by the same yardstick and merged into a conglomerate-category such as the "counterclass." In concrete social space and time there is always some social group which is the /main objective historical adversary/ of the working class. Failure to see this /concrete situation/ is a blinding over of the essence of the class struggle. It is another matter that it is not always the same social group or "fraction" of class group. Under the present conditions in which our socialist state that social group is first of all the /bureaucracy/ in all its forms, but more exactly it is the /alliance of bureaucracy and technocracy/, as that portion of the managerial and administrative stratum in economic and social life which takes its position in a monopoly of the leadership and oversight functions in the social division of labor and organization of work. The working class, then, is waging the main battle against the bureaucracy, including its "own bureaucracy," wherein the epithet "own" does not mean that that bureaucracy is something essentially different in a social sense from the other "fractions" of the bureaucracy because its members originate in the working class and that it is less opposed to the working class than those other "fractions" which do not have working origin. But that /is not enough/ to discover all the protagonists and forms of class struggle. After all, the working class is also waging that struggle against the /capitalizing portion/ of the stratum of private owners. It is waging it as well against all those social categories which do not oppress directly or indirectly in /exploitative/ and do not belong either to the political bureaucracy or the technocracy, nor even to the managerial portion of the private-owner stratum referred to as "the rich." These are the owners of public property, possible categories that are: 1. "own bourgeoisie" and great monopolies as a dominant stratum. It is also waging it indirectly against the /world capitalist class/, insofar as the latter is oppressing our class in exploitation and in appropriating a part of the surplus value of labor through our country's economic and technical-and-technological dependence. Here the class struggle against the domestic bureaucracy and technocracy, against their privileges which arise through monopolization of the social power, are therefore against the elements of exploitation of surplus value of labor, against unaccountability for mistakes in management, against "wastefulness" in capital investment projects, against the excessive loading of foreign credits (whose repayment is felt most by the proletarian workers in their material and general existential well-being)--objectively /carries over/ into a struggle against the exploitation of world capital and against certain areas of our economy, in subordinate position of our

and by the need to disintegrate it by selling different licenses for the same technology. However, of course, the greatest responsibility is borne not by the world imperialist class, but by the domestic bureaucracy and technocracy as well as by that stratum of people in foreign trade and similar activities who have a direct and large material benefit from that dependence and such trans-actings. This does not mean that our country can and should altogether abandon the taking of foreign credits and the purchasing of foreign licenses and shut itself off in its own narrow production and market limits. The essential thing, however, is /under what terms and conditions, under whose control/ this is done, /who makes the decisions on this and the manner of use/ of the resources obtained. In addition, it is extremely important for our country to have the kind of strategy in economic and overall social development which encourages to develop domestic technology, innovation and invention to the maximum. This is indeed one of the essential conditions for establishing the unity of the class itself and for its linkage in production and its economic and political linkage.

Where and in what empirical form is the class struggle of the workers being waged for their immediate and broader class interests? Strikes are its most visible and harshest form. But it is also being waged every day through passive resistance in all cases of deliberate rejection of the bureaucratic forms of political life, of technocratic coercion, and of the routinized and mindless practice of self-management. As has been said previously in another context, this is especially manifested in the decline of motivation for more productive work when other privileged strata of society live better regardless of the results of work and actual social utility for that work. That struggle is also being waged, although very directly and haphazardly than organized /within the limits of self-management/ and in other institutions, in the informal relations among social groups and parts of them, in the sphere of conflicts between values, ideologies and life styles. It is manifested in the existence of relative class /social/ distances/ and diverse drawing of lines between the groups, establishment of solidarity and a "it's us or them" psychology, division into those who are "above" and those who are "below." In analyzing the happenings and development of these struggles one must abandon the position of the rectilinear conception of history and progress according to which the present, in the sense of the detached immediate moment, is always the synthesis of the constructive results of class struggles and the highest level of progressive historical experience.

It should be remembered that class as well as social conflicts can turn into social antagonisms which lastingly retard social development and move it backward. The sphere of the "subjective" consciousness, struggle, commitment, and so on, has particular importance in all this.

Let us go back at the other side of the warring class itself in that struggle. The entire class is not waging that struggle, nor are all its parts participating equally in it. It is being waged by its /subjective/ most threatened and (or) most generous parts/. And within it itself a fierce /intra-class/ struggle is developing between the members of the privileged and privileged work organizations, institutions and groups. Yet these are all well-known forms of class struggle which are based on more or less economic

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...ideological reductionism/ so frequently displayed which operates only on the "materiality" of the social and above all material position in its perception of these questions. That factor must not, of course, be neglected in the least, nor may it in theoretical terms be placed in parentheses, but one must insist on the irreducibility of the subjective into sociologistic determinants. There is room for the unforeseeable and unaccountable in human behavior. In class struggles people choose on the basis of a number of their interests, motives, errors, passions, and influences, and not solely on the basis of their "class position." In these large-scale behaviors there are certain patterns, they do have a certain economic substrate, and there are factors which in the "final analysis" do influence such behavior. But the economic factor operates in very /mediated forms/, not only on ideology, but also on the class struggle. In any case, it is ideology which has an extremely powerful positive or negative impact on people's choices in that struggle. There have not been rare in history when noneconomic motives and factors outweighed those which were economic. The motives of the struggle for the man's social position, for the dignity of the individual, are especially important today on a world scale. However, this acts toward constructive and progressive commitments in class struggles. But we are witnesses to the fact that many remnants and specters of the past are having an exceedingly powerful impact on people's social consciousness, on the shaping of aggressive nationalism, and on all in situations of social crises. It is then that certain "values" float up to the surface, socially thought to have been buried in the past some time. Events of long ago, indeed even archeological findings, take on sudden relevance, the great thinkers and creators of advances which belong not only to one nationality, but indeed to the entire world, are claimed as property. Many artificial divisions sprout up, from the economy through politics to culture, and the motives of class are ideologized and suspected.

It is very important to examine the /plausibility/ of all these ideological factors which influence choices in the concrete class struggles of the socialist and nationalist forces. This ideological configuration of factors, in which the objective tradition and darkness of the past have an important share, is not a mere residue of material underdevelopment. As an agent of nationalism it has taken an appearance in relatively advanced milieus, both in our own country and in the world. Marxist analysis must acknowledge to a far greater extent that relative independence and degree of influence of the ideological factor than it now does in explaining the swelling flows of nationalism. Above all, of course, in unity with all the causes and factors which are primary in determining class relations in a concrete society.

As the ideological socialist gains strength insofar as bureaucratization becomes stronger in social relations and in the League of Communists, insofar as the working class is on the periphery of social power both inside the League and outside it.

Perhaps the Deeper in Studying the Problems of the League of Communists

The first question which imposes itself is this: Can the League of Communists, as it is today--not only with respect to its social composition, but indeed overall relations in it--above all the relations with the class and

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... would give rise to the party of /affirmation-abolition/ (as a dialectical unity) of the working class. And that is something more and something less than from which we can deduce that the League of Communists must operate as the party of the working class, which, of course, in and of itself does not constitute its self-interest. Arises from that the League of Communists must be the party of the working, /unfulfilled/ majority of society whose social core is the working class, but without making - falling to any reduction approach to the actual point of support and the composition of the League of Communists. These are also one-sided approaches which lead to errors in both the theoretical and also the practical and political planes. These supposedly pure and correct lines within the League of Communists and of its role are actually distorted and distorted. Self-management is not possible unless it is achieved at a /majority revolution/, and the League of Communists can be a party of a new type only insofar as it succeeds to dialectically unify class emancipation and general social emancipation within the majority movement of self-management.

The line and thesis of the party as a collective thinker from the standpoint of the /independent activity and self-realization/ of the working class, of its internal agency, /fully correspond/ to what self-management brings as its internal tendency and purpose. That thesis (which is justified) when the party - in the function of enlightenment/ from the standpoint of the essence of the class - the manifestation of self-management contains a /reserve attitude/ with respect to the class. The real question is how the party as a whole, in the /framework of the class' independent activity/, builds in its own ranks, as well as within that independent activity, an atmosphere of /simultaneousness, of openness to the new, a spirit of free critical debate which facilitates an intelligent collective exploration for the best strategies of /collective development/. In that process the class is not an object of indoctrination, of "application" of the knowledge its party has arrived at, passive material from which ideas are extracting for the purpose of such knowledge, but the tendency is becoming an independent agent of ideological development. And without that hegemony it cannot have any political hegemony, it cannot be self-management as a majority revolution.

... the League of Communists must more and more become the party of the /values of the self-management forces of society/, in which the /values are unified: the adverse social position of the working class as a /productive force, its relation to it, but also their historical creativity, scientific knowledge, professional competence, the capability for development of the productive forces, political initiative and consciousness as elements of the working class' self-management community. This bloc is transformed from the /unfulfilled situation of the working class and producers into a /front of anti-capitalist, antisocialist and antimonopolistic forces, or, defined in positive terms, into a /front of the values of self-management as man's integral and most precious /humanity and freedom, rooted in the emancipation of labor.

... the League of Communists /What is the practical content in the line itself/, the /unfulfilled situation of the working class and producers into a /front of anti-capitalist, antisocialist and antimonopolistic forces, or, defined in positive terms, into a /front of the values of self-management as man's integral and most precious /humanity and freedom, rooted in the emancipation of labor.

considerable effort in some ways, and that at the same time must make it clear that commitment within the organization to the language of human rights and to the principles as a whole. In essence, there need not be any real professionalization of the human rights-related portions, we have been alerted to this by our own self-censorship tendency. But however arrant it might be to give some priority to education or qualifications, to professionalization, however, it is equally conservative and actually sustained belief that without these elements, exclusively through some political practice of which, through a political position and party class consciousness, it is possible to create the "new man" or the class-appropriate to the essence of self-management. Marxist would not merely members that practice in the presence of the "new man" or the "new man" to the "new man".

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affords it critical consciousness, appropriate political innovation and its own transformation appropriate to the present day. Its parts, above all its executive bodies and influential individuals, are to be found at various levels within those notorious alienated centers of economic and political power, in positions of leadership and all the more important positions, and it is difficult to suppose that they could have the necessary critical distance to examine their own practice and the present system and for them to be able to truly advocate the real prerequisites for taking the power away from those centers and correcting their alienation. The principal mass of "rank-and-file members" is by contrast without any great political influence. In practical terms this narrows the real possible space of self-management, and the League of Communists tends toward a one-party system. That is why its social structure must be related to the actual structure of power within its own framework. An examination of the social structure of the League of Communists conducted by Marx' methods of analysis of concrete historical materials is not possible unless it is brought into an essential relationship to the class structure of society as a whole and the power structure within the League of Communists itself, always examining all those "structures" as process, and not as a finished "thing," always in the context of class struggles for self-management, for its true content and scope.

What we need is a /creative return/ to the programmatic sources of the League of Communists, not on doctrinaire grounds, but in order to build those sources into today's solutions of the acute problems of social development and the appropriate role of the League of Communists. At the heart of that need is the /destatization and debureaucratization of the League of Communists itself/, as an essential element of the overall process of destatization and debureaucratization of economic, political and cultural life. The conception of the party as an internal ideological and political force which by its nature (in which its social composition is important) and through its entire practice proves its class-emancipatory and general social emancipatory nature always open to the critical judgment of the class and of the socialist public in general, which in its own ranks and in the entirety of society fights by the strength of the individual and collective act and the force of example for the deepest possible democratization, and always captures the status of the vanguard all over again, but does not appropriate it--it is that strategic conception that is extremely relevant today.

Bureaucratization is always accompanied by privatization as its apparent pole. In practical terms it is in fact a kind of privatization of the surplus value, of authority and of power. Statism is not an original (nor fatal) social fact. It is above all a manifestation of the power of the bureaucracy. To speak about statism without talking about bureaucracy and its power is to speak about the manifestation and not about the essence.

Through an analysis of these primary issues it is possible to estimate to what extent the present social structure of the League of Communists is in line with the epochal needs and seething developmental flows in which there are quite a number of elements of uncertainty and crisis. Only on those foundations can the League of Communists activate and revive its own creative potential, which is not small, and tackle the growing bureaucratization, whose specific expressions are to be seen in the present composition and developments in its social structure.

AUTHOR RADULOVIC INTERVIEWED ON RESPONSIBILITY, CRITICS

Belgrade ZUM REPORTER in Serbo-Croatian No 829, 19 Aug 82 pp 29-32

[Interview with Dr Petar Radulovic, author of a book on responsibility in the system of self-management, by Vuk Draskovic: "Impersonal Targets of Criticism"; date and place not given]

[Text] Responsibility is probably one of the most frequent expressions in the political vocabulary of the contemporary world. There is not a party or movement from the extreme right to the extreme left which does not appeal to the principle of RESPONSIBILITY and which does not insist on respect for it.

Our reality is no exception. Not a day passes that the word RESPONSIBILITY is not resorted to in some political study, in delegate assemblies, in local communities, and in newspaper comments, and a call goes out to name the individual or the official entity which was responsible for various investment, economic or political errors and oversights. By and large it goes no further than these demands. Criticism and radicalism subside when the time comes to mention some first name and last name, and it turns out that we are all responsible for many of our more or less vainglorious stumblings.

With that feeling of personal guilt I set off to meet Dr Petar Radulovic, author of a scholarly study entitled "Odgovornost u sistemu samoupravljanja" [Responsibility in the System of Self-Management], which has just been published.

V. Draskovic: As you yourself have been reading, hearing and noticing, the unified Yugoslav market has been shattered. Who, Dr Radulovic, should I submit my resignation to because of that?

Dr Radulovic: You to offer your resignation because of the shattering of the Yugoslav market! Let us get away from these jokes. I did not write a humorous book, and when you called me, you did not say that you wanted to conduct a humorous conversation.

V. Draskovic: I am not joking, not in the least. I have a tin ear from speeches reiterating that we are all responsible for many of our errors and oversights. And you are responsible. You are responsible, among other things, for having covered up the activity of the Albanian irredenta in Kosovo for 15 years. And I feel myself at fault, and it is proper for me to submit my resignation, if not something more.

Dr Radulovic: I see what you are aiming at. Although that difference is very clear in theory, in our everyday politics an attempt is made by skillful obfuscation and phraseology to equate the individual responsibility of those who hold positions in the government and self-management with collective and group responsibility, with the responsibility of the entire nation. It is difficult to find an example, say, where the president of an opstina, the secretary of some committee or any other official has stood up and said: "Listen, comrades, I am personally to blame and in view of the post which I hold objectively the most responsibility for this and that, and I irrevocably submit my resignation and anticipate proper punishment...." No, we are not accustomed to do things like that. Instead we speak in the first person plural, and--in actuality--it turns out that the nation, that the self-managers, are those principally to blame for all errors and oversights. Many comrades in top-level positions behave as though we are not living toward the end of the 20th century, but in a tribal community.

V. Draskovic: You mean to say that personal responsibility was excluded only in the tribal community?

Dr Radulovic: If a member of a tribe inflicted any damage whatsoever on another tribe, then it is not that actual offender who is proclaimed guilty, but his tribe, the entire tribe. In present-day legislation this principle of group responsibility has been altogether replaced by the principle of individual responsibility. In practice this means that the individual is personally responsible for his actions and that he cannot pass on the blame for the damage he causes to anyone else.

V. Draskovic: Yes, that is fine until that individual happens to hold some high and prestigious position. In private, within his family, he is indeed to blame, and he will go to prison if he does not have money to pay for everything he has purchased on a credit card without funds. But if he does the same thing as the director of an enterprise, the president of an opstina or the prime minister, he will hide behind the statement that he himself does not make the decision on anything and, finally, that in spite of the damage caused his intentions were honorable and that he was convinced he was working in the interest of society. How in this case is he to be proclaimed responsible?

Dr Radulovic: Rights and obligations are correlatives, and we often tend to forget that. A higher position brings with it greater rights and powers, but thereby greater obligations as well. Mahmud Bakali and the doorkeeper in the building of the provincial committee, for instance, cannot be equally responsible for what happened in Kosovo. For a minister of transportation to submit his resignation he need not have been personally the engineer of a train which took dozens of lives, nor do the trains, airplanes or buses have to collide in his office to make him responsible. To illustrate, over the last 30 years or so we have had dozens of mining accidents, but only one minister submitted his resignation on one such occasion. And this was looked upon as cheap demagoguery.

A Barometer of Ethics

V. Draskovic: Tell us in the briefest terms what you mean by the term "responsibility"?

Dr Radulovic: Although this is a concept which philosophers and legal experts have debated for thousands of years now, the theory of responsibility is still not completely worked out. The reasons for this do not lie solely in the complexity of this question, but also in the tendency to conceal and avoid responsibility, to pass it on to others, and above all to exempt from it the most salient holders of military, political and economic power in contemporary states.

You ask: What is responsibility? In French the word responsable pertains not only to a public official, but also to any body or elected official in a political party, trade union and other public organizations. In my opinion the essence of responsibility has been best expressed in the General Bylaws of the International Workingmen's Association which Marx wrote when the First International was established: "There is no right without duty, there is no duty without right." Taking this view as the point of departure, I feel that responsibility is one of the basic social relations. It is not only an integral part of the social system, but also an indicator of the achievement of legality and of the level of a society's ethics. In brief, responsibility is a barometer of the rights and ethics of any social community.

V. Draskovic: Explain in a bit more detail the assertion that responsibility is the barometer of how ethical a society is.

Dr Radulovic: Like it or not the ruling class, i.e., the managerial layer, and its responsibility is always subject to the moral assessment of the court of reality, and often in the course of time it is subject to assessment of the court of value as well. Lenin lived with his wife in the Kremlin in an apartment that took up 26 square meters. His wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, brought him food from the nearby public workingmen's kitchen. He hated ovations and applause. He fled from the 9th party congress at which his 50th birthday was celebrated.

V. Draskovic: Doesn't what you refer to indicate a revolutionary asceticism to which he resorted from tactical motives and by no means from any lasting ethical ones?

Dr Radulovic: Call it what you will, that behavior was stimulated by the most noble and honorable intentions. There is absolutely no question of tactics and moral purity aimed at taking power and then "turning his coat." Those people behaved like that out of conviction, this was their deep-seated view of the world, these were their ideals, and they died for them. Hundreds of our communists, Partizans and SKOJ members [Yugoslav Communist Youth League] fell, some before the war, some during the war, in a most sincere aspiration to a community which would be based on equality, freedom, democracy, respect and fairness. No, there were neither tricks nor tactical maneuvers involved here.

V. Draskovic: Like you, I have no doubt whatsoever concerning the ethics of those who died. But how about the ethics of those who lived to see the victory? Only 3.5 decades have passed since the triumph of the revolution, but the war diary of the peasant-Partizan Dragojlo Dudic or Antonije Isakovic's short story "The Red Scarf" seem to us unreal and far away.

Dr Radulovic: I am afraid that you will call me a windbag and a demagogue if I say that many of the moral flaws in peacetime were normal and inevitable. Even by the very act of taking power the victors, the revolutionaries, however they might have resisted, began to be bitten by the spirit and fate of bureaucracy. The challenges of power and passions slowly displaced young people's ideals and criteria. Those who recently had been the most outspoken critics of everything that existed turned into the fiercest persecutors and opponents of every voice which did not suit their whim and which threatened their interests. It soon became evident that not even a socialist bureaucracy was immune to vulgar careerism and the scramble for material goods, nor to tyranny and the insistence to do everything and to see that it was denied nothing. Even under socialism the Jesuitic character of the bureaucratic "truth of authority," which Marx spoke about, was manifested to the maximum.

V. Draskovic: Yes, but the socialist authorities act "in the name of the working class," they are "delegates" and interpreters of the class interest.

Dr Radulovic: Every set of rulers proclaims itself the authentic representative of class or national interests, proclaims its system to be the truth, and labels anyone who thinks and speaks otherwise an enemy of the people. When I listen to our various authorities going full tilt, pinning all sorts of discrediting labels and stickers on people, I feel as I do when reading Ibsen's famous play "The Enemy of the People."

They Glorify Themselves

V. Draskovic: What bureaucracy is it which is not allowing self-management to breathe? What bureaucracy is it that does not allow the principle of individual responsibility to take life?

Dr Radulovic: What do you mean by "what bureaucracy"? Our own socialist bureaucracy, of course. It is quite unimportant that it flies the standard of this or that nationality, republic or opstina.

V. Draskovic: I wasn't thinking of that. When I go to the opstina headquarters for some certificate, I encounter a civil servant at the window. He also represents the bureaucracy. And the clerk who sells tickets at the railroad station represents a bureaucracy. And the manager of the student dormitory represents the bureaucracy. And the secretary in the editorial office of the newspaper represents a bureaucracy. Yet personally I do not feel that that bureaucracy holds the levers of power and decisionmaking in its hands. On the contrary, it is also seeking respect for the principle of responsibility, and it is complaining that it is stifled by the--bureaucracy!

Dr Radulovic: Yes, yes. The term "bureaucracy" does cover the ranks of civil servants, the power and the might of forms and offices. Not long ago I read that one of our fellow citizens all but failed to prove that he was alive. By some error they proclaimed him dead, and he had to obtain endless certificates and affidavits to prove that this was not the truth. Incidentally, you remember that chief district official in Glisic who received a report that someone had set fire to the hay and that fire threatened the village, and he calmly leafed through the legal code to see what was prescribed for the government to do upon receiving a report that someone had set fire to the hay. It is a question, then, of bureaucracy in which the individual becomes a plaything in the hands of bureaucrats, and certainly we must not underestimate it. But these petty bureaucrats are only blind and obedient pawns in the hands of the political and social bureaucracy, i.e., individuals who hold in their hands the reins of both power and coercion. The roots of bureaucracy are not at the windows you refer to in your question, but at the centers of power, should there be groups and individuals who have large powers, and they are not subject to a definite oversight, nor are they accountable.

V. Draskovic: How do individuals become so powerful? Why is it and how is it that they are not accountable?

Dr Radulovic: When the same people have held power for a long period of time, then they begin to behave in a narcissoid manner, they begin to admire themselves and they believe that they are irreplaceable. They become deeply convinced that without them everything would go awry and without them the government, the people and the state would be ruined. They do not even sense that they are behaving autocratically. They are convinced of the "historical significance" of everything they do and utter.

V. Draskovic: And what is to be done? How are the unaccountable authorities to be brought to earth and made accountable?

Dr Radulovic: The hypocrisy of everyone declaring himself in favor of legality and democratic relations, when everyone is criticizing someone and attacking something, but the life of society goes on in the old way, has to be exposed. The target of the criticism is some impersonal and nameless entity purported to be the vehicle of bureaucratic relations, and the attack is carried out against something amorphous and elusive. In many states the citizens--in spite of all the pledges of the government elite to freedom and democracy--are frightened and silenced in various ways: firing, removal from office, withdrawal of rights that have been acquired, digging up the past (ispitivanje savesti), public ridicule through the press and over radio and television, insinuations and name-calling, at the same time depriving the individual of the possibility of defending himself against that slander....

V. Draskovic: Do such things happen even here?

Dr Radulovic: I would be a hypocrite if I denied that they existed.... The bureaucracy divests itself of responsibility and always passes it on to some "hostile forces." This is modern political sophistry. Finally, even Marx spoke about how the bureaucrat, who equates his interest and social status with

the state, always accuses individuals of being themselves at fault for their misery and all their misfortunes, while the individual naively calls upon the bureaucracy to help him out of his personal--economic, social and political--difficulties, unfreedom and fetters. The bureaucrat is one who is always playing down situations of crisis, exaggerates difficulties which the administration has overcome, magnifies the successes which have been achieved and represents them as the exclusive result of efforts by the ruling elite and its devotion to the interests of the people. If after all something does go wrong in the life of society, that is the consequence of various objective circumstances, of hostile activity or of malicious propaganda. The administrators are never at fault for oversights and failures, and they go so far as to accuse not only "hostile forces," but also natural phenomena: drought, floods or the bad climate, say.

V. Draskovic: And the people ... obeys and puts up with it. Or, perhaps, it believes in its bureaucracy?

Dr Radulovic: The administrative stratum spouts demagogic slogans and thinks up deities and modern myths. It monopolizes the right to respect, to patriotism, to infallibility of opinion, to humanism and to democracy. The bureaucratic elite glorifies itself and sings itself odes and paeans, presents itself medals for bravery, for revolutionary spirit, for high ethics and for various other virtues and historical merit.

V. Draskovic: True, but in that same America the press, with the support of the public, managed to bring down President Nixon. Something similar happened a year ago in France: President Giscard d'Estaing had to step down because of the "diamond connection" with Emperor Bokassa.

Dr Radulovic: Don't be naive: Nixon was not brought down by the press, but by political and dollar magnates who wanted him removed. Had the people around Nixon stuck by him, he would have withstood what was written in the newspapers and public opinion with the ease of a lion being bit by a mosquito.

V. Draskovic: You mean that the ruling elite in the contemporary world is mainly accountable only to itself, regardless of the slogans and the flags which fly over it?

Dr Radulovic: That is pretty much it. The constitutions and flags of all countries seem to compete in love of freedom and democracy. In life, however, there is much that is different from what is desired and proclaimed. Today, say, the medieval provision that the head of state be accountable only to God and his own conscience is laughable. Even the traditionally conservative English make fun of their saying: "The king can do no wrong."

V. Draskovic: Excuse me, but even today there are constitutions which relieve the king of all responsibility.

Dr Radulovic: Yes. Under the constitution of Denmark, say, the king is not accountable for his acts. The constitution of Holland says something similar. In practice, though, the king in those countries is a political figurehead, and

though he alone has unlimited power, he actually does not rule. By contrast in certain countries with parliamentary and republican systems the head of state is for all practical purposes accountable only to God and his conscience, provided he believes in God and has a conscience. What is one to say, for example, of Franco's rule in Spain for several decades?

V. Draskovic: Franco is presumably not the only one?

Dr Radulovic: No, of course not. The cult of the individual and the turning of men into deities has become rampant even in the socialist states: let us mention only the Stalin cult in the USSR, that of Mao Tse-tung in China, of Enver Hoxha in Albania.... That unfortunately does not complete the list.

New Relations

V. Draskovic: In what way do the constitutions or laws of the socialist countries regulate the question of the accountability of the head of state, of the government, of ministers and in general of the most prominent officeholders?

Dr Radulovic: In some of them this question is regulated in very broad and general terms. This is the case with the constitutions of the Soviet Union, China, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Albania and certain other states. The provisions are almost identical: it merely states that the government is accountable to parliament, to the presidium or to some other entity.

The constitutions of Hungary, the GDR and Czechoslovakia contain more complete arrangements concerning accountability. The constitution of the GDR has gone furthest in this regard. It regulates quite precisely the accountability of the government as a team, but also the responsibility of each of its members individually. A system of voting no confidence in the government, that is, of removing it from office before the end of its term, has also been elaborated.

V. Draskovic: What is the procedure for removing our government before the end of its term?

Dr Radulovic: Article 360 of the constitution provides that the Federal Chamber, on a motion of at least 10 delegates, may put a question of confidence in the Federal Executive Council. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces and also the SFRY State Presidency have that same right. Our constitution also provides the possibility of a collective resignation by the Federal Executive Council which the chairman of the Federal Executive Council would submit to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

V. Draskovic: How has the accountability of the head of the Yugoslav state been regulated since the war?

Dr Radulovic: Under the 1946 Constitution, you see, we had a collective head of state (the Presidium of the National Assembly). The Assembly had the right to recall the Presidium as a whole or to dismiss its individual members before the end of their term of office.

The 1953 Constitution brought us the president of the republic, that is, the individual head of state. He was accountable for his work to the National Assembly, and the Assembly was granted the right to dismiss the head of state at any time if it judged that he was not adhering to the constitution and law, that is, that he was not conducting his office in conformity with his rights and obligations.

Finally, the 1974 Constitution again introduced the collective head of state (the SFRY State Presidency), though the office of the president of the republic was still retained exclusively and solely to accommodate Josip Broz Tito as an individual.

V. Draskovic: To whom is the SFRY Presidency accountable for its work? I ask this because since 1974 the SFRY Assembly has no longer had constitutional powers to oversee the work of the head of state.

Dr Radulovic: The SFRY Assembly has lost the right to recall either the collective head of state or any of the members of the State Presidency. Instead of that every member of the SFRY State Presidency is politically accountable for his work to the republic or provincial assembly.

V. Draskovic: Does this mean that the State Presidency as a whole, as a team, is exempted from political accountability?

Dr Radulovic: The problem is rather complicated and is a consequence of the new relations in our Federation. The SFRY Assembly has indeed lost the right to oversee the work of the head of state, but it has retained the broadest legislative powers. Thus, for example, it makes the definitive decision as to whether some act of the Federal Executive Council which has been temporarily stayed by the SFRY State Presidency is lawful or not. That is the first thing. Second, it cannot be said that the SFRY State Presidency is exempted from the system of responsibility. It is not, since every one of its members, I repeat, is accountable to the republic or province which he represents.

V. Draskovic: By that very fact one might draw the conclusion that every member of the SFRY State Presidency takes a great risk if in a situation brought about by a dispute, which is quite possible, he comes down in favor of the interest of Yugoslavia as a whole instead of the interest of the republic or province?

Dr Radulovic: Why do you immediately pull out that worst possibility? Ultimately it is the assumption that the interests of the republics and provinces are identical with the interests of Yugoslavia as a whole.

Resignation as a Moral Act

V. Draskovic: I wish it were so, but our reality unfortunately denies it. But let us get back to the topic of our conversation. Do you think that we are among the countries that boast of a rather exemplary functioning of the system of responsibility?

Dr Radulovic: We are far from such a boast. On paper many things seem to be democratic and humane and perfect. In practice, though, it is as though there were a red, black or I do not know what kind of line above which--there is no accountability. For those comrades there exist only rights and powers, but by no means any obligations. We have fallen into the most serious economic, moral and political crisis since the war, and yet not a one of the thousands and thousands of officeholders--beginning with the opstina all the way to the Federation--has been dismissed, nor has any thought of submitting his resignation. Resignation is a profound moral act, and as far as I know the last who submitted it in that manner were Dr Nikola Miljanic, vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council, and the federal deputy Sredoje Urosevic, back some 10 years ago.

V. Draskovic: Forgive me, but Mahmud Bakali, Dzavid Nimani and several others in Kosovo also submitted resignations.

Dr Radulovic: You are making fun of me. They had to be driven out of office. The way it is, it appears that they would hold the same positions even today if they had wanted, they just didn't want to. They have remained in the party, they have retained their salaries as officials and all the privileges acquired. And yet we say that the counterrevolution broke out in Kosovo while they ruled Kosovo with unquestionable authority. Still worse and more serious than that: an essentially Nazi movement with genocidal aims ran rampant. And for that these comrades have not even left the party. Come on now, I ask you. That is one for Ripley's "Believe It or Not," and you offer me the resignations of Bakali and Nimani as confirmation that our system of accountability is functioning. And something else. We will be able to talk about operation of a system of accountability only when it embraces not only provincial, but also republic and federal officeholders who knew or should have known, by virtue of the position which they hold, all that was happening in Kosovo over the last 15 years. Only then; there is no justification, do you understand me?

V. Draskovic: I am not confirming or denying anything. I only cited the facts: we also have resignations, they were submitted by Bakali and Nimani. This is incontestable.

Dr Radulovic: It is also incontestable that the anathema has not been removed from the tens and hundreds of honest and courageous citizens of ours who were anathematized by the former leaders of Kosovo, even though these people did raise their voices in good time against the Albanian irredenta and the terror sui generis of the Serb population in Kosovo. Now we all see that they were speaking the truth, but the penalties pronounced on them by the former leadership in the province still remain in effect.

V. Draskovic: Name somebody who was anathematized.

Dr Radulovic: Jovo Sotra, for example. He was a member of the provincial committee and spoke the truth in public about the rampancy of the irredenta and its strong points of support in provincial and party bodies at the top level in Kosovo. He wrote about everything at length and in detail, and even wrote to Tito. Bakali, Nimani and the officeholders who specialize in keeping silent,

the "yes-men" of Serbian nationality--shut him up and threw him out of the party. He went on fighting even after that. He was to see the open rebellion of the irredenta and hoped in vain that the party would apologize to him. No, he is still considered an "enemy" and Great Serbia nationalist. He died, his heart gave out.

V. Draskovic: Yes, those are unusual occurrences. The same was the case with Milos Zanko: it is absolutely incredible that the man who was the first to warn of nationalism in Croatia, at that time the only one, has even today not been politically rehabilitated. There are a number of others like them or similar, but I do not even dare to mention the names of those people.

Dr Radulovic: I agree, the occurrences are out of the ordinary, but from the standpoint of the bureaucratic elite, they are quite logical and understandable. The official, and especially excessively loud, rehabilitation of Sotra, Zanko and such would give encouragement to thousands of potential critics. People would boldly take issue with the errors and the deities, since they would know that if they speak the truth, that truth will one day conquer. And that then, when that day comes, they will be given public recognition by both society and the party. The bureaucracy naturally does everything to silence critics here and now, so it certainly is not going to encourage an additional army of future critics. That is why there is no rehabilitation for the roosters which, as in that story of Andric's, crow too early in the morning. The bureaucracy seeks not only a monopoly of criticism, but it also wants to say who shall criticize and when and how.

The Method of Mental Discharge

V. Draskovic: We have had cases when even abolition was resorted to so that certain authorities might stay in their posts and so as to prevent their criminal prosecution. In whose interest is this done? Is it in the interest of the working class and self-management?

Dr Radulovic: Abolition is a legal institution which authorizes the head of state to release someone from criminal prosecution or to halt criminal proceedings against a particular individual, and that in exceptional cases. In our law, however, the possibility of abolition never existed at any time after the war. It was introduced only recently, though I feel that there was no need whatsoever for anything like that.

V. Draskovic: Forgive me, but there was in fact an urgent need for it. The stratum of managers was in that way protecting itself against possible disobedient and courageous individuals, newsmen, prosecutors and judges.

Dr Radulovic: Might we exchange roles for a moment: I to ask the questions and you to answer?

V. Draskovic: Go right ahead.

Dr Radulovic: How do you figure that abolition is a protection against brave and intractable individuals, prosecutors, judges and newspapermen?

V. Draskovic: Alright, I will give a fresh example. Recently the press reported that criminal proceedings against three managers at TV Titograd were halted by abolition. This is a case I know about in detail. Certain authorities did everything to prevail upon the prosecutor's office to close its eyes at the very outset and to let these three managers by. The court system is expected to be conscious and vigilant in the realm of political ideology and to pay no attention to the specific charges filed against these three men for autocratic behavior, financial malversation and flagrant violations of self-management. But what happened? The system of justice proved to be firm and decent. The powerful defenders of the autocrats then remembered abolition, and they squashed everything because that was what they wanted and they saved their favorites from accountability.

Dr Radulovic: I repeat: I am of the opinion that the system of irresponsibility is directly strengthened by introduction of the institution of abolition and that there is no justification whatsoever for anything of the kind, no need whatsoever based on class, humanism or any other value.

V. Draskovic: How much can the press help in exposing bureaucratic arbitrariness and in affirming the system of self-management accountability?

Dr Radulovic: The press and other media can be creators of accountability only provided that there is some public entity, some organized force which will undertake legal or moral proceedings against the violation of legality that has been exposed and will punish offenders. But if in the end it all comes to a bit of irony, satire, ridicule or public exposure--then the function of the press is disavowed and belittled. This method of mental discharge which people who are morally indignant and angry about public affairs are allowed, without anybody getting excited over it, is used skillfully by the demagogues, since in this way they give an appearance of civil liberties and democracy, but everything remains as it was and at the whim of the managers who are criticized.

Calling the Tune

V. Draskovic: How do you mean that a free press can be of maximum benefit exactly to those who are against a free press?!

Dr Radulovic: It seems illogical, but unfortunately it is often true. Sometimes the front side is best seen from the back side. How many cases are there from the distant or recent past where a group of leaders has "magnanimously" applauded the freedom of the press, but only to the point where all the critics would have raised their voices until the managers discover them, and later they abolish the freedom of the press and put the critical spirits under lock and key or keep an eye on them or abuse them in some other manner. When I say the "set of leaders," I am not thinking of any ruling class at all, nor a ruling political party, but of a group of people who at a given time represent the executive branch of the government. I mention this because at the heart of a class, just as within the framework of a political party, there are differing and opposed interests, opinions, dispositions and views. But the press, more or less covertly or brutally, is always led on a string by authorities who actually hold the power in their hand and who are in the position of those who

define what is a secret, what is under embargo and why it was so classified, what must not be written about, and so on.

V. Draskovic: In spite of all that the press is the "perpetual scapegoat" for everything. What in your opinion is shown by the attempts to proclaim the press principally at fault for the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo? What is the logic of that absurd and illogical charge?

Dr Radulovic: That it is in the interest of the political forums and of ficeholders who cooked up the "Kosovo porridge" to debate the accountability of the newsmen instead of their own responsibility. It does not suit those comrades for the truth to be presented either about what is happening now or what happened in the province over the last 15 years. The truth is ineluctable, it shows who is principally at fault and the main lines of evidence. That is why the hue and cry for the press to shut up and buckle under. Of course, the bureaucratic elite says this in a much "more refined" and perfidious way: it accuses the newspapers of playing down successes, of dramatizing the situation, of not offering constructive solutions and the like.

V. Draskovic: The papers are, of course, obeying?

Dr Radulovic: You certainly know better than I whether you newsmen play a tune called "From Above." As a reader, however, I note that after every one of our social tempests the press has warned that it will never again tie itself to individuals in power and that in future its sole reference point will be the LCY Program, the truth and professional ethics and conscience. These pledges last a certain time, then the press calls a truce and everything gets back in the old rut--until a new tempest and a new case of remorse. That is the way it was after the 1966 Brioni Plenum, that is the way it was after the 21st meeting and exposure of the nationalistic movement in Croatia in 1971, and it is also the pledge which the press took after the Kosovo disturbances in April 1981. Today its militance is already slowly dying down, its enthusiasm is returning to its usual limits, there are ever fewer "cases of excess," of "sensationalism" and of "dramatization." That is how it seems to me a reader, but correct me if my thinking is upside down and if what I say is wrong.

V. Draskovic: Why should I correct you? To be frank: there is hardly a day when I do not blush because I carry a newsman's credentials. My hair stands up on my head when I hear about what the sins of my profession are and especially when I try to enter into some serious analysis of the sermons and lectures which have been addressed to the press.

Dr Radulovic: You needn't be quite so oversensitive. The press has to reconcile itself to the fact that it will be exposed to criticism and the judgment of the public. Readers do not exist for the sake of the newspapers, but the newspapers for the sake of the readers. When newsmen begin to flee that criticism, then that means nothing other than their flight from accountability.

V. Draskovic: The democratic judgment of the public is one thing, and directives issued by individuals and political hit-and-run attacks are something else.

Is it the voice of the readers when the press is accused of heating up the atmosphere for the flight of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo?

Dr Radulovic: You yourself said a moment ago that there has to be a "perpetual scapegoat." Someone has to be accountable. For the events in Kosovo and for shattering the unified Yugoslav market, and for the economic crisis, and for the "political" factories, and for the Olympics and the unwise investments.... It is a necessity that someone be responsible for all that, specifically and above all others.

Subscriptions to Positions of Responsibility

V. Draskovic: In preparing your doctoral dissertation on responsibility you surveyed nearly 20,000 Yugoslavs from various social strata and various occupations. What did those people tell you?

Dr Radulovic: About 60 percent of the respondents declared that many individuals and groups have been exempted from any accountability and that out of fear of various unpleasant things and abuse self-managers do not dare to stand up publicly against the arbitrariness and privileges of these comrades. I must say, however, that 30 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that our system of responsibility is functioning all but irreproachably. These respondents were mostly employed in opstina forums and administrative agencies.

V. Draskovic: Did the respondents propose any specific solutions?

Dr Radulovic: They did, of course. Most were of the opinion that first of all we must abandon the practice of lifetime subscriptions to responsible positions. They declared that the people and the self-managers are convinced that a very large number of people always hold leadership positions regardless of their professional and moral attributes. These individuals and groups are firmly tied to one another, usually through various concessions and material privileges which are granted at the expense of public property, and then through a mutual interest in holding their positions and bringing their relatives and friends into positions. A large number of the respondents feel that powerful people like these are not only not subject to a system of accountability, but they even forbid their relatives and favorites from being called to account.

V. Draskovic: That is what the respondents say. And what do you say?

Dr Radulovic: Nothing, my mind goes back to Engels. "Is it not wonderful," he wrote about the Iroquois, "that gentle system in its harmlessness and simplicity. Without soldiers, police, without a nobility, without kings, governors, prefects or judges, without a prison, without a law suit.... Decisions are made by those they concern.... And the kind of men and women that such a society creates is confirmed by the admiration of all white people who have come into contact with the unspoiled Indians: because of their personal dignity, sincerity, strength of character and the courage of those barbarians...." I propose that we end our conversation on that note.

V. Draskovic: Alright, but just one more question. How many cracks in the system of responsibility are contributing to the present economic crisis in Yugoslavia?

Dr Radulovic: I dare to say that our principal troubles are the direct consequences of the nonexistence of accountability for those who hold thousands of the most responsible economic, political and cultural offices and positions. In any system, including our own, property has been and has remained the pillar and keystone of social relations. Capitalism has been rather effective here: private ownership is sacred and is protected by every means, without exception and very rigorously. Private property is also effectively protected in our system. Unfortunately, social ownership is perceived by our people as a farm to be cultivated, like Alaj-beg straw which everyone tears up and scatters around. If the political forums which make decisions on unwise investments and other acts of wastefulness and mismanagement were spending money from their own pocket they certainly would behave far, far more responsibly. And certainly it would not be true that "yes-men," mediocrities and incompetents who know nothing except how to bow, how to speak empty rhetoric and how to compete in applauding would not as a rule be appointed to the many places of leadership in the economy and in society.

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